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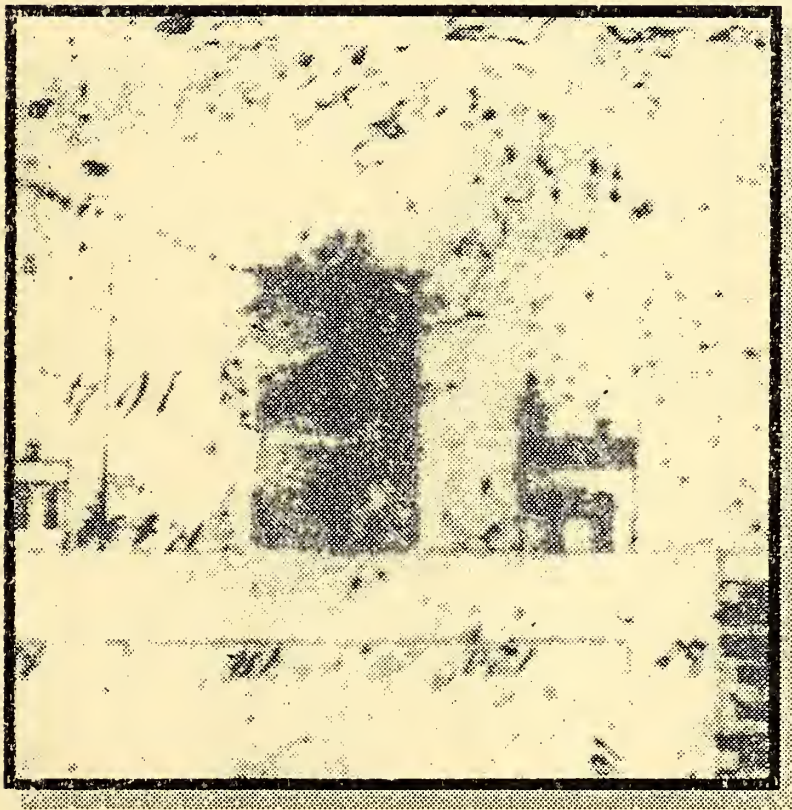
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# The 1823 African-American Log Church: An Assessment

by  
S. Scott Rohrer



*The building of a Negro church has now been decided and the location next to the  
Parish God's Acre has been indicated—Female Mission Society, 1823*





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P. 10

# The 1823 African-American Log Church: An Assessment

by  
S. Scott Rohrer

Research Report Prepared for Old Salem Inc.

Summer 1995





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## Introduction

Through maps, photographs, and early drawings, we have tantalizing glimpses of the plain log church that once stood on the south end of Church Street. The artist who drew “Salem from the Northwest” in 1832 offers the warmest image of the church Moravian slaves built in 1823. Nestled on a hill at the outskirts of the Moravian congregational town, the log meeting house in this portrayal is small but handsome, topped by a church steeple and flanked by an inviting front porch (Figure 1). An 1840 map with a drawing of the church offers a relatively crude image of the church. It shows an exceedingly plain structure devoid of architectural features such as a porch or shutters (Figure 2). Finally, there is the photographer’s eye. A circa 1862 photo (Figure 3) of the church captures an aging but still well proportioned building after it had been sold to a private investor. Some of the most dramatic changes made to the building’s exterior in the antebellum period are there to be plainly viewed: the clapboard added in 1827, the shutters purchased in 1838.

The log church is no longer standing. The following report is an attempt to capture the essence of the building as it stood in 1823 and beyond. It details the building of the church—the type of materials used, the design and the function—and how the building evolved until its demolition in the early twentieth century. Part of the story is familiar; other authors, especially historian Jon Sensbach, have touched on the building of the log church in 1823. This report, however, is the first study to focus solely on the building and its history, and is the first to exhaustively examine the financial records pertaining to its construction and maintenance. In all approximately four-thousand pages of documents were examined, including financial ledgers, minutes, and diaries. From the trove of documents stored in the Moravian Archives, Southern Province, we can glean much about the history of the building and how its rooms were used. Unfortunately, however, much of the evidence is incomplete or vague, leaving us to guess as to the many details about the building’s fabric.

The first part of the report offers an assessment of the evidence. It explains why the Moravians built this structure, and it explores many of the issues concerning the fabric of the building, from the direction the congregation faced to the number of shingles used on the main roof. In a lengthy appendix, the second part of the report lays out the documentary evidence. It includes a Time line of primary sources, all of the critical financial records, an inventory of furnishings in the church, and other relevant material.

The author wishes to thank the staff of the Moravian Archives, especially Grace Robinson, for all their help and patience during the researching of this project.



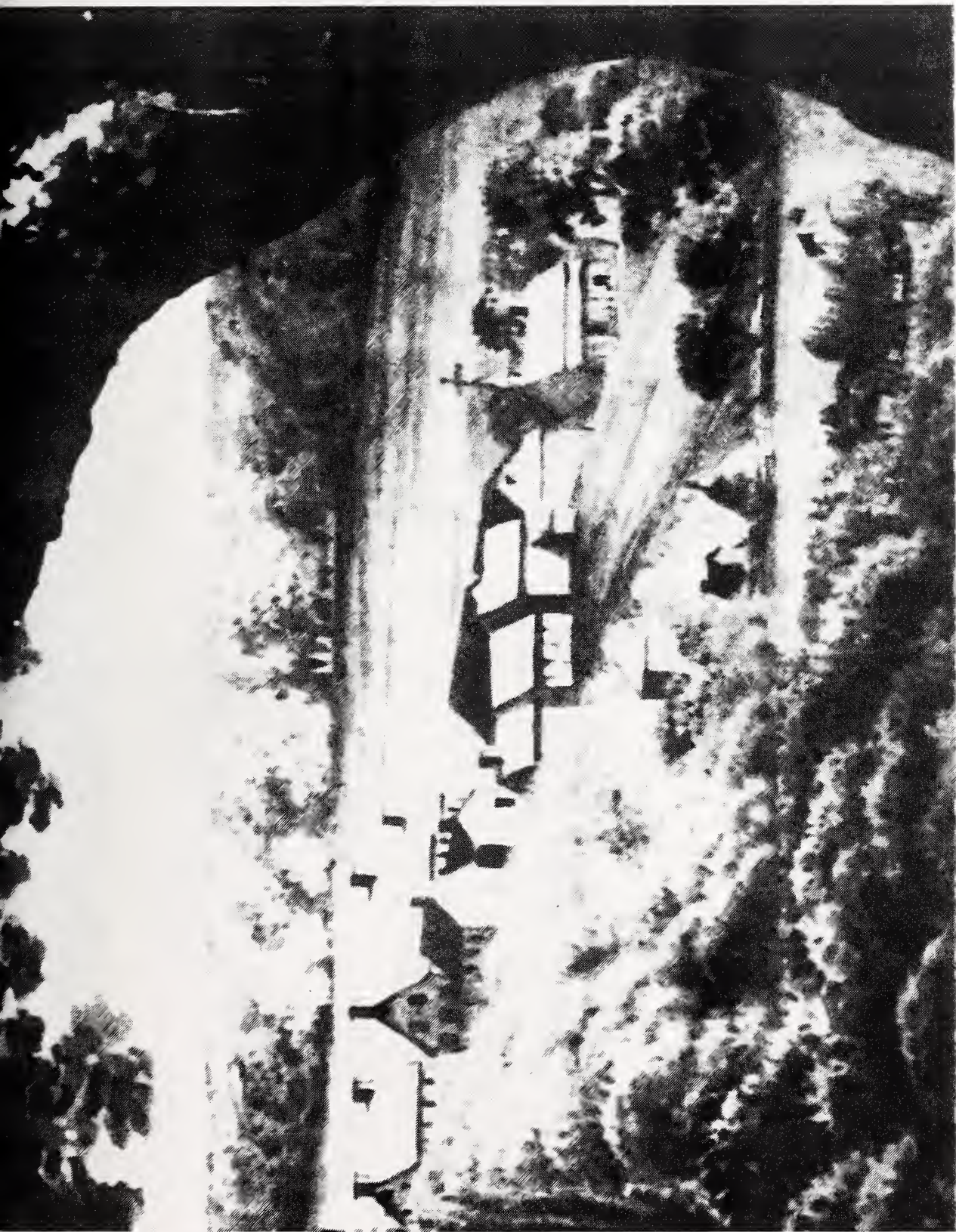


Figure 1. *Salem from the northwest, October 1832* (detail), Unknown artist.





Figure 2. Map of Salem, 1840 (detail).





Figure 3. Photograph of Salem, c. 1860 (detail).



## Building of the Church

It is unknown who designed the log church, but the impetus for its construction in the early 1820s came from the Female Mission Society and the pastor for the black congregation, Abraham Steiner. A group of Moravian women formed the society in 1822 to support the church's vast missionary efforts, but its focus in the early years was on evangelizing the slaves in its own backyard. As early as March 1822, members of the society considered building a church for African-Americans. Steiner and others, however, believed that such a move was premature. As Steiner noted in the *Congregation Diary*, "one would first have to see how this plan would take hold among the Negroes and whether a congregation would be gathered from among them before one could begin to think of a church for them and decide on a place for it."<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1822, Steiner had begun preaching to the African-American field hands, laborers, and artisans in Salem and the surrounding countryside. He and his tiny flock met wherever space could be found—a barn at Conrad Kreuser's, a cabin at the Negro Quarter. As Jon Sensbach has noted, the rise of separate services culminated seventy years of fitful race relations between white and black brethren in the Moravian enclave known as Wachovia. The church's decision to create a separate congregation for its African members in 1822 was both ominous and encouraging, because it signaled the end of interracial worship while it afforded the opportunity for black worshipers to carve out more autonomy in their church lives.<sup>2</sup> In the 1760s, as settlements were scratched out of the North Carolina wilderness, Moravian brethren began buying slaves in an effort to relieve a persistent labor shortage. Racial relations, Sensbach found, were generally good in these early years: "Though most remained legally enslaved, they lived, worked, and worshiped on intimate terms with whites, in some cases sharing living quarters in the Single Brothers and Single Sisters' dormitory houses in Salem."<sup>3</sup> But this began to change by the end of the eighteenth century as white brethren exhibited a degree of distaste at the close proximity of black worshipers. In the early 1800s, church boards began enacting discriminatory regulations that separated the two races, the two most important being rules that banned African-Americans from certain rituals and the designation of a separate burial ground for blacks. Beginning in 1816, no longer were white and black Moravians buried side by side in God's Acre.

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<sup>1</sup>March 22, 1822, *Diary of the Negro Congregation*, Moravian Archives, Southern Province. Hereafter referred to as the *Congregation Diary*.

<sup>2</sup>Jon Sensbach, "A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1856" (1991 dissertation, Duke University); and "Culture and Conflict in the Early Black Church: A Moravian Mission Congregation in Antebellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, October 1994.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 405.



Thus, the decision to build a separate meeting house in 1822 for black Moravians signaled the end of the interracial experiment; Moravian officials candidly admitted that “the relationship of whites and blacks belonging together to one and the same church or congregation was subject to many a difficulty and unpleasantness.” But they also saw a potential upside to this development: African-Americans would have their own church and could worship free of the disapproving glare of some white church members. And thus, the Female Mission Society and church leaders hoped, “many a black sheep might find its way which might otherwise stay back because of shyness.”<sup>4</sup>

Church authorities consciously selected a site for the African church on the outskirts of town, well away from the Square, because they wanted some physical distance between the two races.<sup>5</sup> In 1823, the southern part of Salem consisted largely of meadow, the tavern (which church authorities also placed on the fringe to limit contact between “strangers,” or visitors, and community members), and a few scattered houses. Johann Volz built a farmhouse at Walnut and Main streets in 1816, and Thomas Welfare constructed a cabinet shop in 1820 across the street from Volz just to the north on Main Street. The building of the two houses on Race Street—first by Welfare and later by Emanuel Reich—awaited the late 1820s. The first house, built by P. Reich, on South Church Street was not constructed until 1824, a good block north of the African-American log church.

The Moravians built the 1823 church adjacent to the old parish graveyard. Church authorities began this graveyard in 1772 as a burial ground for the “strangers” who died while in Salem. God’s Acre to the north would be reserved for church members. Beginning in 1790 African-Americans were buried in the graveyard, but in 1816 it became the designated burying ground for African-American church members. The church elders selected the lot for the church directly to the south of the cemetery. This juxtaposition of church and cemetery is atypical of Moravian town planning within the Wachovia Tract nor, according to Leland Ferguson, does it have African origins. More research could examine the location of country congregations and missions in respect to their burying grounds for precedents to this plan.

The church’s designers drew on a well-established tradition in Wachovia when deciding on the design of the meeting house and the materials. Obviously, the number and function of rooms were to reflect their intended uses. In both the country congregations of Hope, Friedberg, and Friedland, and in the congregational towns of Salem, Bethabara, and Bethania, the *Gemein Hauses* fulfilled multiple functions. Yet their size and complexity closely reflected the social and economic status of their congregations. The same was true for the African-American church. This was a first-generation church built for a tiny congregation of about fifteen members with little status whose survival was hardly assured. Church leaders, as a result, did not lavish a great amount of money on its construction. The staff of the Moravian Archives knows of no extant floor plan or architectural drawings for

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<sup>4</sup>Congregation Diary; quoted in Sensbach, 1994, p. 406.

<sup>5</sup>Leland Ferguson, “A Report on Archaeological Testing of the St. Philip’s Moravian Church and parish Graveyard,” unpublished report prepared for Old Salem Inc., 1991, p. 55.



the church, and it is probable that there never were any. This was a simple structure, hurriedly built on the thinnest of budgets.

Although located near a sophisticated commercial and religious village seventy years after Wachovia was founded, the African-American church was similar to an eighteenth-century country church such as could be found in Friedberg and Hope. This African-American *Gemein Haus* was also to serve multiple functions. The congregation was to hold worship services in its sanctuary, and it became the symbolic heart of the Moravian African-American community. Its members gathered on its porch to converse and socialize, in much the same way that the farmers of Friedberg gathered at their meeting house to chat about the weather, crops, and the latest marriage and births. But there were significant differences. There was, for instance, no physical settlement of African-Americans with defined geographical boundaries. Congregation members were scattered across the 100,000 acres of rugged hills and streams that constituted Wachovia, including Hope, Bethania, and Salem. Hence, the church would not physically unify the community in quite the same way that it did in Friedberg. There was less need for meeting rooms in the African-American church because there were no church boards or committees to oversee settlement and congregational life. The biggest difference from its white counterparts, however, was that no pastor would live under its roof. There would be no need for living quarters because its pastor resided in a private house in Salem. This was an especially significant fact in the design of the African-American church. It meant its planners could allot less space for the minister or even conceivably eliminate a minister's room altogether.

On February 26, 1823, the Provincial Elders Conference approved the plans for the African-American church. It was to be "32 by 28 feet in size, and 12 feet high. On the south gable there shall be an 8 foot addition for the use of the minister."<sup>6</sup> A front porch was to run the length of the building. The African-American church's size was remarkably similar to other eighteenth-century meeting houses in Wachovia. The second meeting house that Bethania built in 1769 was forty feet by thirty feet;<sup>7</sup> Friedberg's 1767 structure was thirty-four feet by twenty-eight feet. The floor plan selected for the African-American church shared similarities with Hope's roomier meeting house that was begun in 1775. Like the African-American church, Hope contained two downstairs rooms—an sanctuary forty feet long and a minister's room twenty feet long.<sup>8</sup> Like the African-American church, the rooms were separated by a wall with a fireplace in the middle of each. Both buildings were four bays wide with two exterior doors—one leading into the sanctuary and one into the

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<sup>6</sup>Feb. 26, 1823, minutes of the Provincial Elders Conference. Hereafter referred to as PEC.

<sup>7</sup>Jan. 6, 1769, Wachovia Diary.

<sup>8</sup>Pastor's notation, Folder: "miscellaneous documents," Hope Congregation, Moravian Archives, Southern Province.



minister's room.<sup>9</sup> Overall, the Hope meeting house was thirty feet wide. Significantly, Abraham Steiner lived in Hope's *Gemein Haus* from 1802 until 1806 when he served as that congregation's pastor. He was, as a result, very familiar with its design and function.

Moravian authorities made the decision to build the African-American log church with relatively little debate about its size and cost. On February 4, 1823, the Provincial Elders Conference first discussed a building only twenty-four feet wide; three weeks later, 26 February 1823, they approved a plan twenty-eight feet wide by forty feet long. They do not specify why they made this change. Both plans called for a building forty feet long, but the first version envisioned a minister's room ten feet wide. The final version approved by the elders took two feet from the minister's room to create a longer sanctuary, making it thirty-two feet long (See Figure 4.) The elders probably reasoned that the minister could get by with a smaller room. The minister's room in Hope, by comparison, was more than twice as long for an obvious reason: This half of the *Gemein Haus* served as his family's living quarters (See Figure 5). The African-American church's minister's room, only eight feet long, was merely intended as a place "where he can stay before services begin."<sup>10</sup>

The elders had little to say about construction costs—only that the Unity's Mission Department should not be stuck footing the bill. Approvingly, the conference noted at the February 4th meeting that "With the help of the Female Missionary Society, the owners of the Negroes, and other contributors, the cost could gradually be covered without calling on the Mission Department of the Unity."<sup>11</sup> The group responsible for overseeing the church was the Female Mission Society. It was the group that, along with Abraham Steiner, pushed for its construction; paid for the bulk of the construction; and was in charge of maintaining the structure from its completion in December 1823 until 1859, when the congregation became part of the Salem Diacony. The Salem Diacony, or Common Fund, played a minimal role in the church's construction; in spring 1823, it advanced \$100. That money likely went to pay for initial building supplies. According to a Female Mission Society treasurer's report, construction costs totaled \$381.00 3/4, although the actual amount was probably higher when the costs of donated supplies are included. The society paid for \$151.60½ of that amount in January 1824, while "various contributions" from unnamed donors—but presumably slave owners and concerned white church members—totaled \$25.96¼. From its funds, the society paid off the remaining balance of \$203.44 on January 9, 1826.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Francis Griffin, "The English Settlement," *3 Forks of Muddy Creek*, vol. VI (Winston-Salem: Old Salem Inc., 1979).

<sup>10</sup>Feb. 26, 1823, PEC minutes.

<sup>11</sup>Feb. 4, 1823, PEC minutes.

<sup>12</sup>Jan. 8, 1826, Annual Report of the Female Mission Society; Salem Diacony Account "vom 1 Juni 1822 bis 31st Mai 1823."



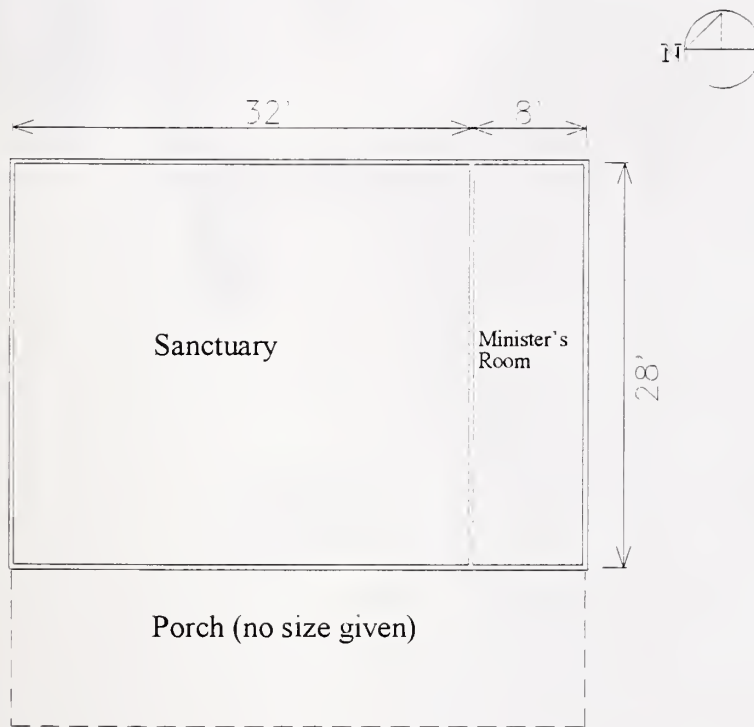
The church could be built inexpensively because many of the materials were donated and the church members did most of the work themselves. The society evidently hoped that the church could be constructed sometime in the summer of 1823, but the demands of a farm economy wrecked those plans. Workers gathered shingles, boards, and logs on the site in July 1823, "but because of the great amount of field work, the Negroes have not been able to do anything on it."<sup>13</sup> Two months would pass before the slaves found the time to build their house of worship. Then, on September 27, in one day of concentrated and joyful labor, "thirty Negroes gathered to lay up

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<sup>13</sup>July 27, 1823, minutes of Female Mission Society.



Figure 4. Dimensioned building plan.





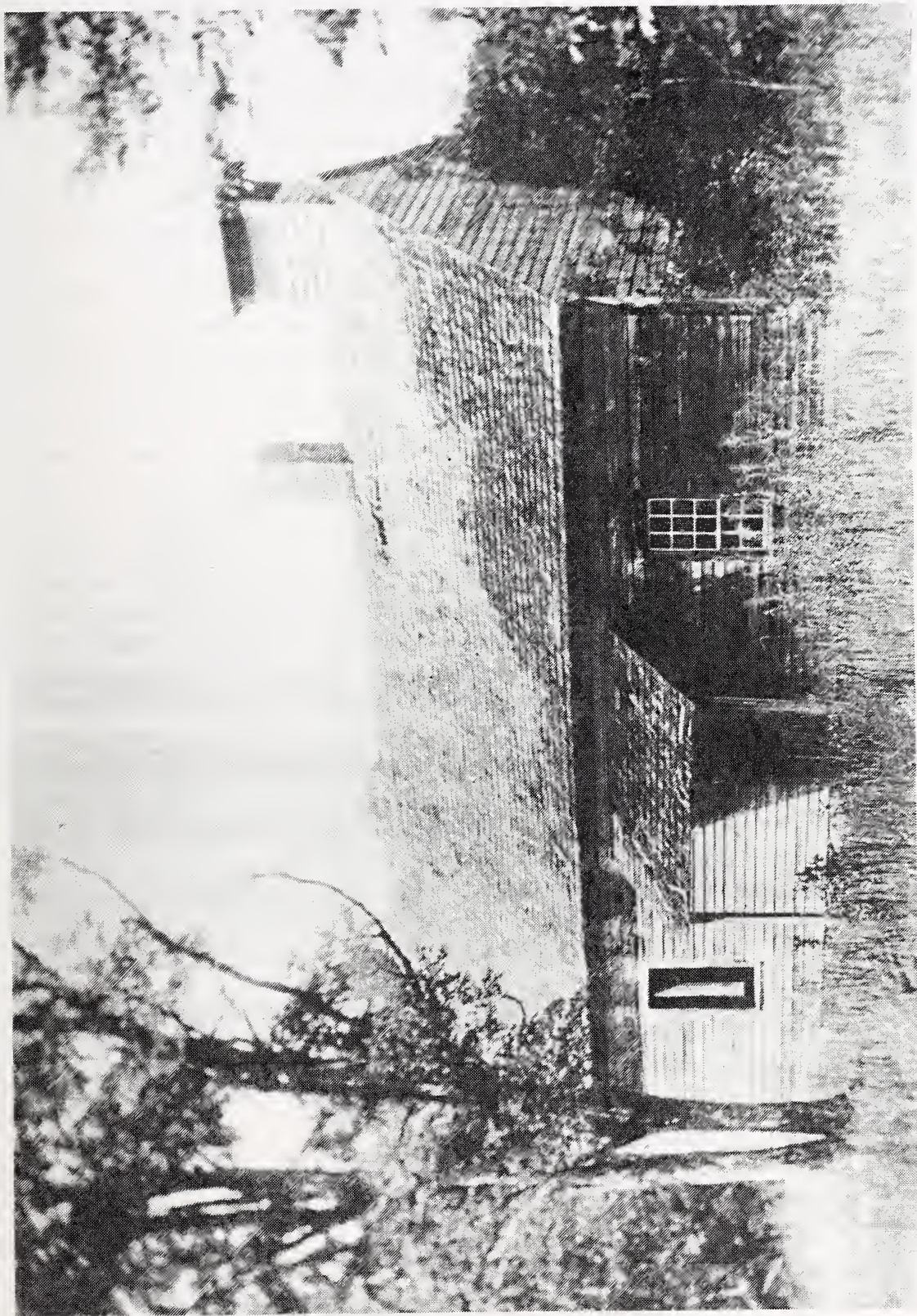


Figure 5. Hope Moravian Church.



the logs for the church.”<sup>14</sup> Jon Sensbach has likened such communal activity to a country-barn raising. The analogy is appropriate on several levels. Not only did African-Americans gather as neighbors to erect a log structure, they shared another time-honored rural tradition: the imbibing of whiskey. Financial ledgers show that the Moravians supplied whiskey for the log church’s builders.<sup>15</sup> At harvest time, cornhuskings, house raisings, “and all manner of work that must be done fellowshiply,” workers routinely received whiskey as both a form of payment and to promote neighborliness.<sup>16</sup> The building of the log church fell into this communal tradition.

Logs were the building material of choice for both home and church in Wachovia’s pioneer years, and the builders of the African-American church naturally turned to it for reasons of convenience and cost. Log construction was the fastest and cheapest building method. German emigrants to Pennsylvania were hardly strangers to log buildings, or *Blockhauses* as they called them, using squared or rounded logs, and dove-tailed notching to permit a flush corner.<sup>17</sup> In the North Carolina Piedmont, the Germans who migrated from Pennsylvania, including the Moravians, brought their log-building techniques with them. Three types of notching predominated: V-notch, half dovetail, and full dovetail.<sup>18</sup>

From the first, the Moravians employed log construction at Bethabara, the settlement founded in 1753 as a staging area for the colonization of Wachovia, and at all of their later settlements. By the 1820s, builders in Salem were using V-notching seen at the 1816 Hagen House and 1822 John Ackerman houses, which were then clapboarded. Documents do not indicate what type of notching method was employed at the African-American church, nor are there any extant photographs of the church without its clapboard siding. *It is clear that the Moravians were comfortable with log construction and had a long heritage of log-building to draw upon.* But further study of Moravian log-building techniques might shed light on specific construction methods used at the African-American church in 1823.

It is known that the logs used for this project came from two sources: the land of the Single Brothers and Salem Diacony. In early March 1823, John Leinbach received permission from the Aufseher Collegium to cut about twenty trees on the Single Brother’s

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<sup>14</sup>Sept. 27, 1823, Salem Diary.

<sup>15</sup>Nov. 22, 1823, cash book, Salem Diacony; July 22 to Aug. 11, 1824, in Journal III, Salem Diacony.

<sup>16</sup>Hope’s Brotherly Agreement of 1785.

<sup>17</sup>John I. Rempel, *Building with Wood and Other Aspects of 19th-Century Building in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 14-15.

<sup>18</sup>Doug Swaim, “North Carolina Folk Housing,” in Doug Swaim, ed., *Carolina Dwelling* (Raleigh: N.C. State University, 1978), p. 31; and Davyd Foard Hood, *The Architecture of Rowan County* (Raleigh: Glover Printing Inc., 1983), p. 21.



land, while Brother Clauder selected the trees to be cut on the Salem land, most likely the woods behind Frederick Schumann's plantation.<sup>19</sup> Some of the trees were white oak.<sup>20</sup>

A lag in construction apparently followed raising of the logs on September 27. No work was reported in diaries until late November and early December. And then, "several Negroes were here to plaster the inside of the church."<sup>21</sup> That was one of the final things that had to be done, along with installing doors and other finishing touches. The building was apparently completed by Saturday, December 13, when the slaves came "to clean up and put everything in order."<sup>22</sup> On Sunday, December 28, the church was consecrated. "We gathered at noon at 12 o'clock at the new church. In front of the church, the tune "To God alone by the glory" was played twice by the horns, while those present gathered inside the building. There were about 90 blacks present. In addition there were a number of the Brethren from the town and a large number of Sisters."<sup>23</sup>

The interior of the church was likely exceedingly sparse. The walls apparently were plaster and possibly whitewashed. It is extremely unlikely that there were any embellishments, such as an organ loft with decorative balustrades that could be found at Bethabara's *Gemein Haus*. The church had no organ until 1856, and the instrument purchased in that year was a small melodeon. The sanctuary had benches, likely made by congregation members. The Salem congregation donated "the table, the chair and the white cloth formerly destined in the Choir hall of the Brothers House."<sup>24</sup> The table had a small table drawer that contained two baptismal cloths.<sup>25</sup> The eight-foot minister's room had a desk, chair, and likely a cupboard. This room was probably also used to store shovels, spades, pick-axes, and burial shrouds needed at the cemetery.

As the largest room, the *Saal* fulfilled several functions. Sunday worship services were obviously the most important one. On a typical Sunday, anywhere from fifteen to ninety people attended. But the sanctuary possibly could seat up to one hundred and fifty. Crowds of more than one hundred were common on special occasions such as love feasts, Easter and funerals, when the church would be filled to overflowing. Those unable to find seats inside spilled onto the porch. On Easter 1845, for instance, "The church was packed

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<sup>19</sup>March 3, 1823, Aufseher Collegium.

<sup>20</sup>April 3, 1823, Aufseher Collegium.

<sup>21</sup>Dec. 6, 1823, Congregation Diary.

<sup>22</sup>Dec. 21, 1823, Congregation Diary.

<sup>23</sup>Dec. 28, 1823, Congregation Diary.

<sup>24</sup>Dec. 15, 1823, Aufseher Collegium.

<sup>25</sup>June 26, 1825, Congregation Diary.



full of Negroes, and many had to stand outside.”<sup>26</sup> The congregation also used the sanctuary for weekday gatherings. For example, in 1859 the pastor reported that he “Finished the course of lectures, prefatory to Baptisms & confirmations. These lectures, which have been held every Tuesday evening in the chapel since the beginning of July were well attended—from 30 to 40 being present on average.”<sup>27</sup>

The Sunday School, which was formed in 1827, usually met in the *Saal*. Enrollment in the 1827-61 period averaged about forty students, while the school assumed especial significance in congregational life from 1827 to 1830. During those four years, the members of the Female Mission Society were allowed to teach African-Americans how to read and write. In May 1829, pastor Steiner approvingly noted that out of about “40 Scholars, twelve....can now read fluently in the Testament; the rest have been presented with a Bible, or Testament, accompanied with some tracts.”<sup>28</sup> In January 1831, however, the North Carolina legislature, following the lead of other Southern states, enacted a law barring the teaching of reading and writing to slaves. In the wake of the Nat Turner rebellion in Virginia, legislators feared that such educational efforts would “excite dissatisfaction in their minds, and....produce insurrection and rebellion.”<sup>29</sup>

The Moravian effort to teach the slaves how to read and write came to an end, at least for a time. In the mid-1840s, there is remarkable evidence that the congregation’s pastor, Gottlieb Byhan, resumed reading lessons at the Sunday School in defiance of the North Carolina legislature. A Congregation Diary entry of January 4, 1846, notes that “The instruction for the Negro children & young people, as had been done previously, was begun again by Sisters Mary Denke & Sally Steiner.” Financial ledgers show what Byhan was up to: He took out about sixty-five subscriptions to the *American Messenger*, a missionary publication, in December 1845, 1846, and 1847.<sup>30</sup> This would be enough for every student in the Sunday School. Apparently, the *American Messenger* was used as a reading tool or supplement to the efforts of the teachers. It is unclear how long this reading effort continued; Byhan let the subscriptions lapse in 1848, and no later pastors in the antebellum period resumed them. It appears that Byhan was the only one who defied the 1831 law forbidding the teaching of reading and writing.

The sanctuary was adequate for the forty or so students of all ages who attended on Sunday afternoons. On some occasions, Sunday School teachers used the minister’s room as a classroom for the children. In March 1845, for instance, “During the Communion in an adjoining room the children were instructed in the truth of salvation by some of the

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<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, March 23, 1845.

<sup>27</sup>Oct. 18, 1859, Congregation Diary.

<sup>28</sup>May 26, 1829, Weekly Gleaner; and Sensbach (1991), pp. 595-598.

<sup>29</sup>“A Bill to Prevent All Persons from Teaching Slaves to Read or Write, the Use of Figures Excepted,” Legislative Papers 1830-31, quoted in Sensbach (1991), p. 598.

<sup>30</sup>Journal V, Salem Diacony, for December 1845, 1846, 1847.



]Sisters.”<sup>31</sup> Despite the efforts of Abraham Steiner and Gottlieb Byhan, the Sunday School never approached the importance to the town’s black community that it did after the Civil War.<sup>32</sup>

The church’s expansive front porch proved to be a popular gathering spot for the black community. Throughout the 1823-1861 period, white residents continually complained about African-Americans congregating at or near the church. The meadows in front of the tavern were a popular spot for African-Americans to play ball. They also liked to gather along the streets of south Salem to talk and gossip. Sundays were a festive day, as African-Americans took advantage of their only day off to meet, talk, and play. For the white pastors and neighbors, these gatherings were disruptive. In 1854, Bro. Bahnson expressed “sorrow that the Negroes pass their time on Sunday with playing in the so-called back street and asked the [Female Mission] Society to do something if at all possible to remedy this evil.”<sup>33</sup> In 1835, the Aufseher Collegium barred the slaves from playing “ball in the meadows of the Tavern.”<sup>34</sup> But this decree did little good. Two years later, the pastor complained that “play mania has become so prevalent among them so that even when [the bell] rings for the service, they won’t let themselves be disturbed in their playing and either do not come at all, or when the service has already been going on for half an hour, they enter with a lot of noise.” This time, there was no decree issued; instead, the pastor lamented that “there is nothing that we can do except to pray.”<sup>35</sup>

African-Americans sometimes congregated on the church porch while Sunday service was being held. Worshipers inside would wander outside onto the porch to talk to their friends—to the annoyance of the pastor. In April 1850, Byhan lectured congregants about frivolous behavior on the Lord’s Day. It is important, he advised, “that when the bell rings on Sundays, they would hurry in crowds to the church and not as it has been frequently been the case that they would linger on the streets and corners of the alleys and carry on their foolishness, and then perhaps when the divine service is almost at the end, they come and cause a disturbance for those who are present, or even never come in.”<sup>36</sup>

What was annoying to whites was something entirely different to African-Americans. The log church and its porch afforded them a chance to mingle with neighbors who they probably rarely saw during the week. The isolated location of the log church can be seen in a different light from this black perspective: It was close to the Negro Quarter at

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<sup>31</sup>March 9, 1845, Congregation Diary; also see April 1845 entry in diary.

<sup>32</sup>Rohrer, (1993), “Freedman of the Lord”; Rohrer, (1993), “A Mission Among the People: The World of St. Philip’s Church from 1890 to 1952.”

<sup>33</sup> July 23, 1854, Female Mission Society minutes.

<sup>34</sup>Jan. 25, 1835, Congregation Diary.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, report of May, June, July 1847.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, April 1850.



Schumann's plantation across the creek, and the site's openness afforded a good chance for such recreational activities as playing ball. The church played a significant role in black community life, offering a location where they could gather and socialize. The porch was likely one of the most popular and heavily used elements of the church.



## Evolution of the Church

Beginning in 1825, the log church took on more polish. Overall this was a building that was little altered during its thirty-eight year existence as a church. There were no additions put on the rear or front and no dramatic improvements made to the interior. Instead, most of the work done was maintenance. That was true in January 1856, when the Female Mission Society appointed a committee of three sisters "to make such improvements in the interior of the church as they might deem advisable."<sup>37</sup> The committee got to work immediately. By April, repairs were in progress. Floor boards were replaced and oak scantling purchased. The porch was repaired and two shutters replaced. Total cost of the work: \$28.90.<sup>38</sup> But tellingly, the committee did not recommend any major changes to the interior. Their main recommendation was that the society purchase a melodeon for the congregation. The society at first balked at this request, citing lack of money, but in the end went ahead with the committee's plan. On October 5, 1856, on "a day of great rejoicing," the congregation used the melodeon for the first time.<sup>39</sup>

The three most significant alterations to the church came earlier. It was in spring of 1825 that Abraham Steiner had the ball and vane atop the church steeple gilded, and the steeple itself painted. This cosmetic work must have removed some of the rough edges to the log church's rustic appearance. The Female Mission Society normally took care of all repairs and improvements, but in this instance the Salem Diacony paid for the \$15.50 that it cost to paint the steeple, gild the vane, and erect the scaffolding to perform the work.<sup>40</sup>

The most dramatic change came in October 1827, when the Female Mission Society paid \$62.75 to have the exterior logs covered with weather-boarding. Covering log buildings with clapboard was common in Wachovia and the North Carolina back country. Still, such a simple change forever altered the appearance of the church: It no longer looked like a simple country meeting house, but instead more easily blended in with its more polished neighbors to the north. The treasurer's report on the clapboard siding implies that this improvement was planned all along: "pd. Oct. 1, 1827, towards finishing the Negro Church."<sup>41</sup> If that was the case, then the Female Mission Society waited until the church was paid off in 1826 before tackling some of the major finishing touches.

The third major alteration to the church's appearance was the addition of window shutters. The Female Mission Society voted in July 1837 to purchase the shutters, but for

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<sup>37</sup>Jan. 13, 1856, minutes of Female Mission Society.

<sup>38</sup>April 1856 Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society.

<sup>39</sup>Jan. 25, 1857, minutes of Female Mission Society.

<sup>40</sup>April 30, 1825, Salem Diacony Journal III.

<sup>41</sup>Sept. 30, 1827, Book A, Female Mission Society.



“various reasons” the shutters were not made until January 1838.<sup>42</sup> The society purchased four shutters, but the entries are not clear if they meant four sets of shutters or four individual shutters. If it was the latter, then four shutters would only be enough for the two front windows. Whichever case, it was not enough shutters for all the windows. In July 1838, society members “suggested that those windows in the Negro Church which have not yet been provided with shutters, should have these provided.”<sup>43</sup> The treasurer’s records indicate that an unspecified number of additional shutters were purchased from George Hege in winter or early spring 1842.<sup>44</sup> It was also possible that shutters were bought in 1840. In May of 1840 the society paid \$5.50 “for boards at the Negro Church.” “Boards” in several instances seem to mean plain shutters lacking paneling. A purchase of \$5.50 would be enough for several shutters.<sup>45</sup>

Money was always tight, but the list of repairs made at the church is impressive. Only seven months after the church opened its doors, unspecified work was done. In 1830, repair work was performed on “the upper floor in the Negro Church.”<sup>46</sup> A hailstorm in August 1833 necessitated replacing twenty-five broken window panes.<sup>47</sup> Workers repaired the porch roof in summer 1848<sup>48</sup> and the roof over the main church in 1850.<sup>49</sup> In 1840 and 1856 all or part of the church was whitewashed.<sup>50</sup> There were many other minor repairs in the 1823-61 period. In all, the Female Mission Society appropriated approximately \$350.59 on the African-American church in the 1824-58 period for repairs, supplies, and new furnishings (See Appendix).<sup>51</sup> That amount is nearly what it cost to build the log structure in

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<sup>42</sup>July 16, 1837, minutes of Female Mission Society; Jan. 20, 1838, Book A and February 1838 entry in Treasurer’s Report

<sup>43</sup>July 15, 1838, minutes of Female Mission Society.

<sup>44</sup>Female Mission Society Treasurer’s reports, February and May 1842.

<sup>45</sup>Treasurer’s Report, May 1840.

<sup>46</sup>Feb. 1, 1830, Book A, Female Mission Society.

<sup>47</sup>August 1833, Congregation Diary.

<sup>48</sup>June 9, 1848, receipt submitted to Female Mission Society by Gottlieb Byhan and July 2, 1848, minutes of Female Mission Society.

<sup>49</sup>March 11, 1850, Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society.

<sup>50</sup>January and April 1840 entries, Journal V, Salem Diacony; Jan. 13, 1856, minutes, Female Mission Society.

<sup>51</sup> “Statement of appropriations from 1823 to 1858” in March 21, 1858, Report of Female Mission Society.



1823. An 1859 report to the society—only two years before the Moravians sold the church—indicates that the building was in good shape, stating that “the Negro church will probably require no appropriation at this time.”<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Jan. 9, 1859, report to Female Mission Society.



## Fabric of the Building

The following section will explore in more detail many of the individual architectural and material components at the church, such as windows, lighting, and furnishings.

### The Roof

The shingles were likely made of pine, a less expensive alternative to cedar. There is no discussion in 1823 of the roofing material used at the African-American Church, but when the Home Church needed a new roof in 1832, the Provincial Elders Conference debated the relative merits of pine and cedar. Cedar was by far more expensive and had to be bought in Fayetteville. This indicates that pine was the wood of choice for more economical projects, such as the African-American Church. It is extremely unlikely they could afford cedar.<sup>53</sup> The nailing methods for wood shingles were either *joint* that is, attaching so that shingles are butted flush, side to side, or *lap* where shingles were laid with one of their long sides lapped over the adjoining shingle. Both methods were used in 1823 in Salem, according to Salem Diacony ledgers (See Appendix). There is no indication which method was used at the log church. We do know from later repairs that it took about 1,200 shingles to roof the porch and about 12,000 to roof the church.<sup>54</sup>

### The Steeple and Vane

The 1825 ledger entry in the Salem Diacony Journal notes that the church had a gilded ball and vane. Fortunately, the steeple was still present in the early 1862 photograph which shows a ball and pennant-like vane atop the steeple (See Figure 3). These elements are similar to the vanes on the Home Church, built in 1798, Bethabara's *Gemein Haus*, built in 1787, and to the brick church in Bethania. There is possibly a third element at the very top above the vane. At Home Church it is an acanthus leaf; at Bethabara it is a star. It is difficult to discern this element at the log church in the 1862 photograph, if it existed. The steeple, which is clearly visible in the photos, may have contained a bell used to call parishioners to worship on Sundays.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>PEC minutes, Dec. 18, 1832, and Sept. 2, 1833.

<sup>54</sup>11 March 1850, Female Mission Society.

<sup>55</sup>May, June, July, 1847, Congregation Diary.



## **The Windows**

An interesting question is whether there were windows on the eastern and southern sides of the church. Extant photos and drawings all are from the northwest looking southeast. Hence, we can only view two sides of the church. According to the 1840 map of Salem, there were two doors and two windows on the west side of the church. The circa 1862 photo of the church appears to show two lower windows on the north side with the shutters closed. The photo also indicates there was a shuttered opening centered on the north gable. A circa 1890 photo of the church after it had become a private residence shows four windows on the north side. The upper-story windows were six over six; the lower ones nine over six in this photo. We can only guess whether there were windows in the back of the church; based on the number of purchases for shutters in 1838 and 1842 (and possibly 1840), there were probably windows in the back. There is no proof of this, however. There were probably two windows on the south side as well, but again these are also undocumented.

## **The Porch**

One thing is certain, there was a front porch that ran the full length of the building on the west side. What is not clear is how wide the porch was and whether the approved width of twenty-eight feet for the church included the porch. My reading of the minutes in both the English and German versions is that the twenty-eight-foot figure does not include the porch. The minutes describing construction plans in winter 1823 all seem to say that the porch would be an appendage to the main church. Further, Leland Ferguson's estimate of the church's width based on the 1890s photo of the former church is twenty-seven-and-a-half feet—without the porch.<sup>56</sup>

Another puzzling aspect concerning the porch is the entry of July 15, 1838, in the minutes of the Female Mission Society. At this meeting, a sister suggested that "a door [be] put at the entrance to the porch." This suggestion was approved, but no treasurer's report confirms that a door was bought or made. The mystery is what a door would be needed for and how it would alter the porch's appearance. Perhaps a door to the minister's room was added or it may simply mean a railing was put on the porch with an opening to channel the entry to the church.

## **The Doors**

Door type is unknown. Both the 1840 map of Salem and the 1890 photograph show that the front of the building had two doors—one leading into the sanctuary and one likely leading into the minister's room. The big question is whether there were doors in the rear. As with the windows, we cannot say for sure. John Lick was paid in December 1823 for three doors for the church, but the receipt does not indicate whether the doors were for the interior or exterior.<sup>57</sup> Two were likely for the outside and one possibly for the interior,

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<sup>56</sup> Figure 15 in Ferguson (1991), p. 41.



between the minister's room and *Saal*. If so, this would seem to indicate that no doors were in the back of the church, at least in 1823.

### The Upper Floor

There was only one reference to an upper floor in the church. That was a cryptic entry from the Female Mission Society treasurer in 1830: "To Abr. Steiner jun[ior] for the upper floor in the Negro Church 12.00."<sup>58</sup> Read alone, this could mean that an upper floor was placed in the church, but the minutes from the July 1830 meeting show that repairs of \$12.00 were done on the church.<sup>59</sup> Thus, Steiner was paid for some kind of carpentry repairs. This also would mean that a second floor likely was present from the beginning since no documentation exists of a floor being added. Still, the existence of an upper floor raises two key questions. Did it cover both the sanctuary and minister's room or merely the minister's room? What was a second floor used for?

The 1823 minutes from the elder's conference say that the church was to be twelve feet high. This is probably the wall height not the total height of the building to the top of the roof. The question then is whether the sanctuary ceiling height was the full twelve feet or even open all the way up to the roof rafters. The twelve foot wall height dimension appears typical of log buildings constructed in Salem (not 1816 Hagen House, 1822 Solomon Lick, and the 1787 Lick-Boner House) and all of these structures are one-and-a-half stories tall. In these cases the ceiling heights were about ten feet. It is possible that the church also had a half story. The reference to the "upper floor," the photographic evidence of a shuttered opening in the north gable, and the twelve foot dimension would support this construction detail. There is nothing in the Congregation Diary to shed light on these questions. If a second floor was used by the congregation, it is most surprising that this usage was not discussed in the diary. For example, if an upper floor was used for meetings or the Sunday School, that would be mentioned in a pastor's report at some point over thirty-eight years. The lack of documentation might be evidence that this space was not used because it was an attic or unfinished space.

There is more evidence for a second level in the minister's room. We know from an 1825 inventory that the congregation used "the little room" to store grave-digging tools.<sup>60</sup> And we know from other *Gemein Hauses* that second floors over the parsonage were either lofts or bedrooms. In Hope, for example, the meeting house had a loft in the minister's room with a stairway in the rear. It is possible the African-American church followed the same scheme, although the upstairs would not be sleeping quarters, of course. Instead, the

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<sup>57</sup>Receipt of December 1823, Folder: "Bills, Receipts & Vouchers for the year 1823," Moravian Archives, Southern Province.

<sup>58</sup>Feb. 1, 1830, Book A, Female Mission Society..

<sup>59</sup>July 4, 1830, Female Mission Society.

<sup>60</sup>June 26, 1825, Inventory, Congregation Diary.



shovels, mattocks, ropes, and other tools for the cemetery could be kept there. If so, then there was likely a small stairway in the rear of the minister's room that led to the loft.

### The Sanctuary

It has been suggested that the logs were exposed in the interior, and the plaster work mentioned in the Congregation Diary was actually chinking. That is possible; German settlers in Pennsylvania chinked the crevices between the logs with stones or short sections of wood, and then applied a coating of plaster between the crevices to help keep out the wind and rain.<sup>61</sup> However, Steiner's account of the slaves' work on the church in early December 1823 seems fairly clear that they "were here to plaster the inside of the church."<sup>62</sup> It is questionable if he would have used such sweeping language if the workers were merely applying some kind of plaster coating, or using plaster itself for the chinking.

This sanctuary was likely very plain. Hope and Bethabara used benches instead of pews in their churches. Even the Home Church—the crown jewel in Wachovia—used benches in the antebellum period. The African-American church was no exception. George Bahnson's report of July 18, 1858, to the Female Mission Society confirms that the sanctuary had benches. Diaries and minutes do not indicate how the sanctuary was set up or which way the congregation faced. It is clear that a fireplace was on the south wall. It is most likely the congregation either faced the minister to the east, which was the rear of the building, or to the north, which was the wall opposite the fireplace. There was no pulpit; instead, there was a communion table and chair for the minister to sit during the service. A report from pastor George Bahnson in 1858 hints at how the *Saal* was used. Bahnson reported that parishioners preferred sitting along the walls so they could lean back, leading Bahnson to complain that few sat in the central part of the room.<sup>63</sup> This account confirms that there were benches and that some were placed along the walls. It is also possible that church officials moved the benches around depending on the event and the number of seats needed (See Figure 7).

In other Moravian churches in Wachovia, as at the African-American church, the sanctuaries were rectangular in plan, and the congregations faced a narrower side. The church Friedberg built in 1823 followed such a pattern.<sup>64</sup> In Hope's *Gemein Haus*, the benches apparently faced perpendicular to the entrance with a center aisle to create two sections of seating. A few benches were also placed along the walls. A similar arrangement with separate sections was likely at the black church. It is unclear if the black congregation

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<sup>61</sup>Henry J. Kauffman, (1992), p. 2.

<sup>62</sup>Dec. 6, 1823, Congregation Diary.

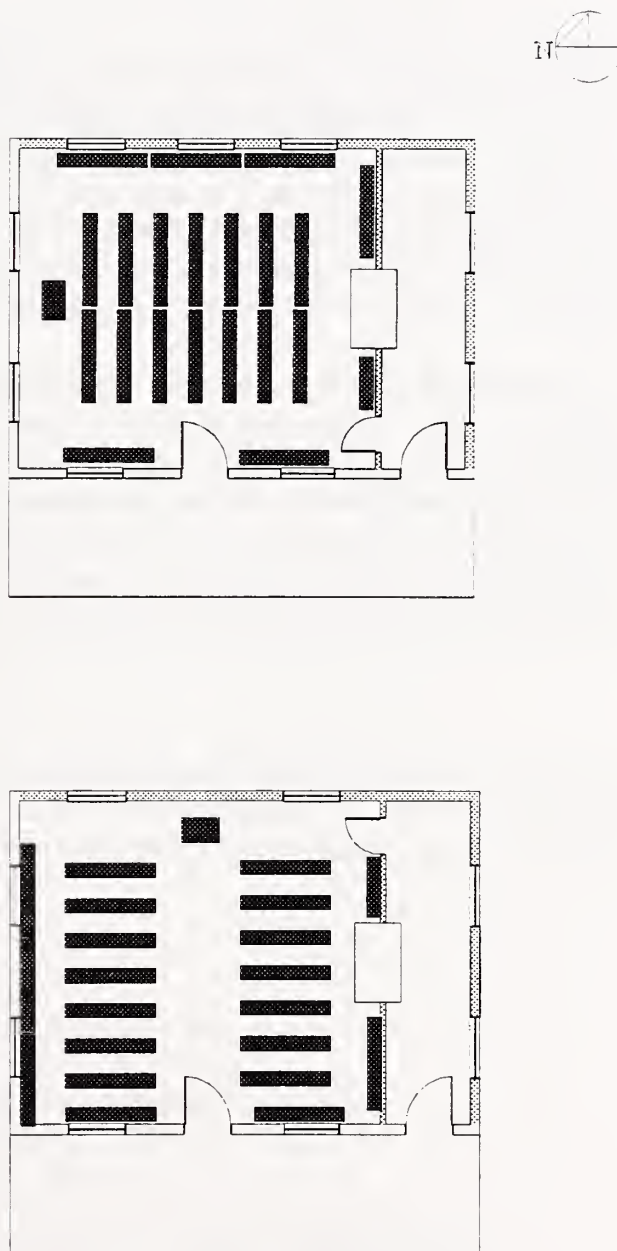
<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*; Pastor Bahnson's letter (In English, but very difficult to read in the original.)

<sup>64</sup>Drawings, Moravian Archives, Southern Province.



Figure 6. Possible floor plans and interior furnishing configurations.

*Locations of openings in shaded walls are unconfirmed.*





followed a formal seating arrangement by choir, where the sisters sat on one side and the brothers on the other, as was standard in congregational towns.<sup>65</sup>

It is not known if there was any other furniture in the sanctuary. We can confirm that it consisted of benches, a table with white cloth, and chair. In 1856, the Female Mission Society placed a melodeon in the church. Prior to that, there was apparently no organ or piano.

### **The Minister's Room**

The congregation possessed a cupboard in the 1820s for storing communion dishes and "a little basket." This likely went in the minister's room. Presumably, preparations for love feasts and communion were done in this room and not in the *Saal*. An 1858 entry mentions that a new cover for a table was needed because "a number of things in the Negro Church had become spoiled."<sup>66</sup> That probably refers to the communion table in the *Saal*, but it may be evidence that there was a table in the minister's room. Some kind of table would be needed to prepare the cakes and coffee for the love feast, as well as the bread and juice for communion.

The room definitely had a minister's desk and chair, although it is not clear when these items were purchased.<sup>67</sup> The desk likely stored the books belonging to the minister and the congregation. The 1825 inventory confirms that the congregation possessed hymnals. After 1825, congregation pastors paid fairly regular visits to the town's bookstore, as the Salem Diacony financial records show. Gottlieb Byhan, for instance, bought an Old Testament book and a biography of Count Zinzendorf in 1846.<sup>68</sup> Abraham Steiner in 1830 purchased four Mission prints that very well may have adorned the walls of the minister's room.<sup>69</sup>

### **Heating**

In January 1835, the Female Mission Society voted to buy an iron stove for the church, and in August the stove was purchased.<sup>70</sup> A minor but potentially serious fire in December 1833 prompted this action. According to the pastor, "This morning a beam was

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<sup>65</sup>Jon Sensbach (1991), pp. 540-41.

<sup>66</sup>July 22, 1855, Female Mission Society.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1858.

<sup>68</sup>January and April 1846, Journal V, Salem Diacony.

<sup>69</sup>April 30, 1825, Journal III, Salem Diacony.

<sup>70</sup> Jan. 11, 1835, Female Mission Society; Aug. 1, 1835, Book A, Female Mission Society.



ignited by coals through a stove pipe in the church and nearly burned.”<sup>71</sup> Thanks to “God’s watchful hand,” the church escaped without any “considerable damage.” Fire-damaged beams were replaced and services were not interrupted.

The incident is important for several reasons. This indicates that the church had a stove, although it could have been in either the sanctuary or the minister’s room. This incident, however, is the only mention of a pre-1835 stove. Moreover, the discussions in 1835 do not mention that an iron stove would be replacing an earlier one. In fact, the Aufseher Collegium seems to say that the iron stove would be the first one in the church: “Where a stove or stoves could be installed in the church is an important consideration for the future.”<sup>72</sup> It might be possible that pastor Schmidt was referring to the chimney flue, not a stove pipe. No where in the report does he refer to a stove—only the one reference to a *Ofenrohr* or stove pipe.

Whatever the case may be, the fire prompted congregation members to take up a collection in 1834 for a new stove. According to Sensbach, church authorities interpreted this seemingly laudable act of civic-mindedness as an unwelcome display of black assertion.<sup>73</sup> After reprimanding the congregation, church authorities agreed to buy an iron stove with society funds. Thus, beginning in summer 1835, the congregation had a reliable heating source.

Schmidt’s report of 1833 to the Landarbeiter Konferenz also says that workers should cut out beams around the stove pipe so bricks could be laid in the space there. It is not clear what Schmidt meant. In Hope, the settlement’s committee also feared the consequences of an unsafe stove pipe. Because of the pipe’s “inconvenient position,” the smoke did not draw properly. “And besides,” the committee continued, “the pipe being made of wood & surrounded with wood on all sides exposes the house to great danger” from fire.<sup>74</sup> Their solution was to construct “a separate chimney of brick, at the smallest possible expense.” This work was done in December 1810.<sup>75</sup> Schmidt may well have had a similar solution in mind. He likely wanted brick placed around the pipe in the upper portions of the church to protect exposed beams from sparks. There is no evidence, however, that the society acted on Schmidt’s recommendation, or that any structural changes were made to the church in 1834 or 1835 involving the use of brick. Both the minutes and financial ledgers are silent about repair work done in the fire’s aftermath.

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<sup>71</sup>Dec. 29, 1833, Landarbeiter-Konferenz Bericht. (The author thanks Jon Sensbach for his help with this passage.)

<sup>72</sup>Jan. 19, 1835, Aufseher Collegium.

<sup>73</sup>Sensbach (1991), pp.558-59.

<sup>74</sup>Nov. 11, 1810, Hope Committee.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1810.



## Lighting

References to lighting are almost non-existent. There is only one mention of lighting: A cash book entry of April 27, 1825, notes that the Salem congregation “pd. Abr. Steiner for painting 3 lamps.”<sup>76</sup> Other entries from this year call them oil lamps, so the three lamps mentioned likely were oil lamps, too. But it is not clear whether these lamps were for the church; they possibly were for Steiner’s home. It is also unclear whether lighting was even needed because the congregation rarely used the church at night. In 1859, the pastor held lectures every Tuesday evening, but this was in the summer and early fall when it stayed light later. The detailed 1820 inventory of Hope’s church did not list any lamps. In 1809, however, the settlement’s committee reaffirmed the “old rule” that “one candle is to be brought by each family that has candles, for the use of the night meetings.”<sup>77</sup> It is possible that candles were adequate for the log church in the antebellum period.

## Paint

The church was whitewashed at least twice—in 1840 and 1856. We also know that the steeple was painted in 1825. Other than that, the documentary evidence does not indicate if the church was painted. None of the financial records mention expenditures for paint, brushes or labor. Based on that lack of documentation, it appears that the church was unpainted outside and whitewashed on the inside. The 1862 photo of the church is unclear. While the building is darker than the steeple at the brick Greek Revival church, the old log church is light colored. It is also possible the church was whitewashed on the outside. The Female Mission Society minutes of January 1856 hint at such: “It was resolved to whitewash the Negro church from without to give it a better appearance.”<sup>78</sup> But the treasurer’s records do not confirm that this work was done, let alone the amount of lime used. The amount of lime used in 1840 for whitewashing—a half bushel—was relatively small.<sup>79</sup>

## The Flooring

Entries in the Salem Diacony Journal hint at the flooring used in 1823. In the summer and fall, the Salem congregation’s treasurer dispersed numerous amounts for flooring “planks” and for “2 ½ inch plank.” That figure most likely refers to thickness and not width. Repairs at the church in 1856 mention “flooring boards” but not the type. It is safe to assume that the floor was made of wide pine boards, as was common in that period. The floors at Hope’s meeting house were “pine Inch plank.”<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Cash book, Salem Diacony.

<sup>77</sup> Dec. 10, 1809, Hope Committee.

<sup>78</sup> Jan. 13, 1856, Female Mission Society.

<sup>79</sup> April 1840, Journal V, Salem Diacony.

<sup>80</sup> Jan. 31, 1808, Hope Committee.



## The Barn Behind the Church

The 1862 photo of the parish-graveyard site shows a substantial clapboard structure behind the log church. An examination of the primary documents turned up no connection between this structure and the church. The Congregation Diary never discussed any uses of this building, nor did the Female Mission Society ever mention any disbursements for its construction or upkeep. It appears this structure was the barn that Ernst Vierling received permission to build in February 1847.

Vierling lived to the north of the church and the graveyard on lot 104. Just behind his house, the land drops off sharply to a pasture below. Because of the lot's limitations, the Aufseher Collegium denied Vierling "permission to cultivate the steep slope behind his lot, since on account of its situation it would be of only little use for him, and we also have to fear that this would damage the pasture right next to it." Instead, the Aufseher Collegium allowed Vierling to construct a "small barn with stables and thrashing floor, measuring 15 feet width and 35 feet length behind the Negro graveyard on the present site of the wood drying kiln."<sup>81</sup> The structure Vierling built was most likely the building behind the log church. The black congregation would have no use for such a building. The presence of a barn/stable so close to a house of worship must have been offensive; the smells from the barnyard on a hot summer day easily would have been noticeable in the *Saal*.

Church authorities, however, never protested the barn on those grounds. Instead, they were upset with Vierling for drying his laundry on the graveyard on Sundays. More significant, in 1858 the Aufseher Collegium complained that "the said Brother has made a path to his stable through the Graveyard."<sup>82</sup> This can be seen as additional evidence that Vierling built his barn behind the log church, since he would have had to cross the graveyard to reach it. Interestingly, Vierling's widow lived on lot 104 until 1862, the first year the log church was used as a residence.<sup>83</sup> The Vierling barn was torn down between 1862, after both properties changed hands, and 1869. In that year, Traugott Crist, who bought the Vierlings' house in 1862, sought "permission to erect a stable to the East of the Negro Church," showing that his lot no longer had access to a barn.<sup>84</sup> In the 1890 photo and Bird's eye view of Winston-Salem showing the old log church, the barn is gone (See Figures 7 & 9).

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<sup>81</sup>Feb. 1, 1847, Aufseher Collegium.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1853.

<sup>83</sup>Bergstone (1992).

<sup>84</sup>Quoted in Bergstone (1992), Feb. 4, 1869.





FIRST COLORED CHURCH, SALEM, N.C.

Figure 7. Photograph of Salem, c. 1890 (detail).



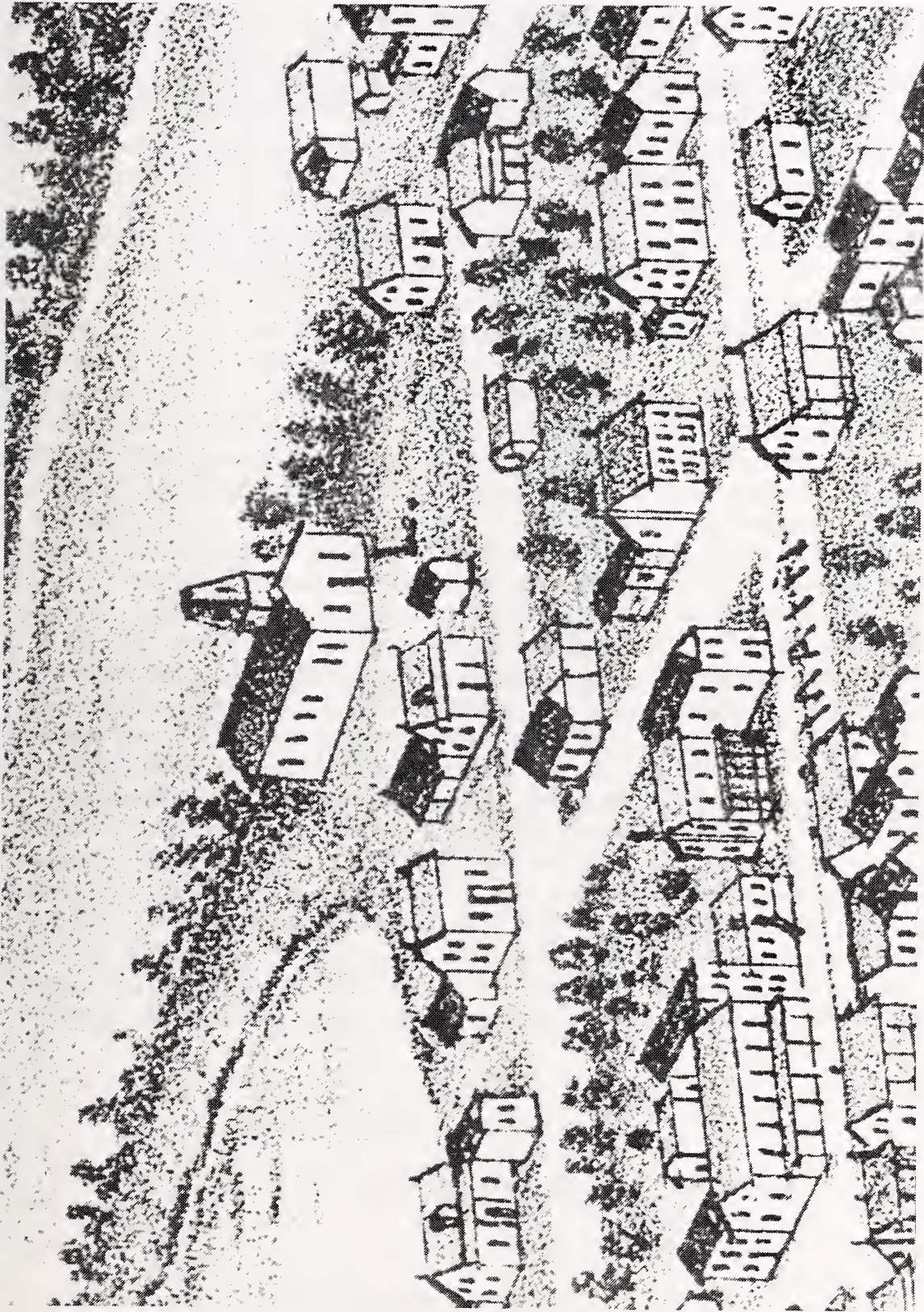


Figure 8. Bird's eye view of Winston-Salem, 1890 (detail).



## Fate of the 1823 Church

In April 1859, the Provincial Elders Conference decided to turn over the black congregation to Francis H. Holland.<sup>85</sup> The decision was a momentous one for not only the congregation but the log structure its members had built in 1823. Holland was unhappy with the congregation's small size—about thirty communicant members in 1859—and was a harsh critic of the church structure on south Church Street. In spring 1860, he began lobbying the elders for permission to build a new church. In a letter to the elders, Holland spelled out the shortcomings he perceived with the old church.

For starters, he told the elders, the log church was “poorly adopted to the purposes which it is used.”<sup>86</sup> The main problem, Holland continued, is that the “old church has become so much too small that on ordinary occasions the want of room is felt to be a serious inconvenience; while at funerals, baptisms, & particular church festivals, it does not even contain all the colored people—such white people as we would gladly see there on some of these occasions, being prevented from coming by the want of room.”<sup>87</sup> The Congregation Diary backs up Holland's assessment. On numerous occasions in the antebellum period, the congregation was forced to hold love feasts, baptisms, and funerals in the roomier Home Church because the log church “could not contain all the hearers.”<sup>88</sup>

There was, however, another equally important reason why Holland saw the log church as inadequate. He believed the structure was too plain and homely to attract worshipers. Or as he explained to the elders, “it is our duty to provide ample & sufficient attractive church accommodations for our rapidly increasing colored population.”<sup>89</sup> The brick structure that the Moravians built in 1861 is dramatic evidence of what Holland wanted to accomplish. He sought an impressive church structure that would make a statement to the growing black population in Salem about the Moravians' commitment to their spiritual needs. There were deeper structural reasons why the Moravian leadership decided to retire the log church. One development was the changing composition of congregational membership. In 1823, most members lived outside of town on the numerous plantations that dotted the countryside. The slave population in Salem, meanwhile, remained small. By 1859, however, most members now lived in Salem. Accompanying this change was the tremendous population growth in Salem. In 1847, the church ended all slave regulations limiting the use of black labor. Salem's slave population grew accordingly. Moravian authorities saw this growth as a tremendous evangelizing opportunity. Yet they

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<sup>85</sup>April 4, 1859 PEC, minutes.

<sup>86</sup>May 25, 1860, letter of F.H. Holland to the Rev. Thomas Pfohl.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup>Oct. 23, 1859, Congregation Diary.

<sup>89</sup>May 25, 1860, letter of F.H. Holland to the Rev. Thomas Pfohl.



were clearly frustrated that the congregation was not growing along with the population. In 1859, for example, the Reverend M.E. Grunert sighed that “the attendance was pretty good alto’ the number of colored people living in town is so great that if they could attend in a body our church would be filled to overflowing.”<sup>90</sup> But this was not happening; instead, the pastors complained, “groups of Negroes are seen standing at the corner & dispersing at the nearer approach of the minister.”<sup>91</sup>

Even before Holland proposed constructing a Greek Revival church, the elders agreed that something had to be done. Because the black population in Salem was so large, they decided that the congregation should no longer be the responsibility of the missionary field—and the Female Mission Society—but of the Salem congregation. And hence, the pastor of the Salem congregation was given charge of the black flock. This, of course, placed the black congregation in the capable hands of Holland, who was a forceful and energetic leader. He immediately reorganized the Sunday School and pushed to build a more impressive church.

Building the large brick church was a major undertaking for the Salem community and provides a stark contrast to the construction of the log church thirty-eight years earlier. In 1823, the slaves did most of the work and the Female Mission Society covered the bulk of the cost. In 1861, the project was a community undertaking. The money for the project came from a wide variety of sources, ranging from individual donors to the Female Mission Society to the Wachovia Sustentation (See Appendix). The total cost of construction came to \$2,916.18, according to Salem Diacony records, and was at least \$600 over Holland’s estimate of \$2,300 (See Appendix for cost breakdown).<sup>92</sup> Professional builders were used, unlike thirty-eight years earlier, and the church appointed J. Gottlieb Seitz as superintendent of the project. for an initial payment of \$100 even before final project approval. More research is needed to determine who these workers were, but it appears that African-Americans played little role in the construction. The congregation did contribute \$85 for new church pews, as the old wooden benches in the log church were seen as too plain for their sparkling new home.<sup>93</sup>

The tremendous expense of the Greek Revival church sealed the fate of the old log church. Although it was a consecrated church, Moravian leaders apparently never considered holding onto the structure for use as a meeting hall or parsonage. Instead, they needed to sell it so the proceeds could go toward helping build the new church. On December 4, 1861, Lewis Belo auctioned off the church and the lot it sat on. The buyer was Calvin Peck, who paid \$140 for the lot and \$210 for the house.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>Feb. 6, 1859, Ministers’ Conference Reports.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, May 29, 1859.

<sup>92</sup>Aug. 7, 1860, Board of Trustees; Journal VI, Salem Diacony, January 1862.

<sup>93</sup>Ledger of Nov., Dec. 1861, Journal VI, Salem Diacony.

<sup>94</sup>November-December 1861, Journal VI, Salem Diacony.



Little is known about Calvin Peck, whose name does not show up on the U.S. census for North Carolina in 1850, 1860, or 1870. He is not on any church membership lists, so it is unlikely he was a Moravian. In 1867, the Salem Board of Commissioners discussed the old church and did not mention Calvin, only Elizabeth Peck, who presumably was his wife. Elizabeth Peck was a "sick nurse" who lived in Winston.<sup>95</sup> Thus, the Pecks rented out the church as a residence. One tenant was "Old Nancy," a freed woman, who was living there in November 1867.<sup>96</sup> In that year, the town of Salem briefly used the church as a hospital. The town's doctors, Schaffner and Keehln, needed "some isolated building procured for homeless and destitute persons....who are afflicted with small Pox."<sup>97</sup> Shaffner and Keehln offered to treat the patients for free if the town would come up with a building for them to use. Elizabeth Peck agreed to rent the house to the town for a hospital, and the hospital opened in early January 1867. But the Freedman's Hospital "proved dissatisfactory to a number of the citizens in that portion of Town."<sup>98</sup> The commissioners agreed to find a new location for the hospital, and in February reported that "the old Brick house" near Henry Blum's "will do very well for that purpose."<sup>99</sup> Sometime after the hospital moved out from the former church, "Old Nancy" moved in.

Deeds on the property are extant from 1861 to 1950, when the city of Winston-Salem bought the site, with one exception: It is not clear when the Pecks sold the property. The 1861 deed shows that the Pecks owned the site until at least 1869. The probate court appended the following note in that year: "The execution of the foregoing and wither deed from E.A. deSchweinitz to Calvin Peck was this 1st day of November AD 1869 acknowledged before the undersigned Judge of Probate for the county aforesaid....Therefore let the said deed together with this certificate be Required."<sup>100</sup> The property was likely sold around that time with Calvin Peck's presumed death, although it is possible Peck merely amended his will in that year.<sup>101</sup>

In 1886, William Swicegood sold the property to Jefferson and Sarah Fisher. It is probable, that Swicegood had bought the old church from the Pecks and owned it from about 1869 to 1886. It is unclear who remodeled the church, but it most likely was the Pecks or Swicegood. We know from the late nineteenth-century photo that the steeple and front porch had been removed by about 1890 (See Figure 7). The Fishers, while the first

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<sup>95</sup>1870 U.S. Census.

<sup>96</sup>Nov. 12, 1867, Board of Commissioners.

<sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1867.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1867.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1867.

<sup>100</sup>Deed Book 5, pp. 16-17, Register of Deeds office, Forsyth County.

<sup>101</sup>No will was located for the Pecks in Forsyth County records.



owners to make the old church their residence, did not have much money. The 1870 census said that Jefferson Fisher worked in a flour mill, while the 1884 city directory reported that he worked in the Salem Mill. They were the only owners who had to take out a mortgage on the property, even though the selling price was only \$490.<sup>102</sup> Finally, Jefferson Fisher left behind a modest estate valued at just \$50 when he died in 1894. Two of his unmarried daughters, Adelaid and Parmelia, who worked in blue-collar jobs, inherited the house and lived there until 1904.<sup>103</sup> It is doubtful that the Fishers possessed the resources to remodel the house. They clearly did not have money to maintain the residence, at least after Jefferson died. A 1902-03 property-tax notebook in the Archives assessed the house's value at only \$300. When the Fisher daughters sold the residence in 1904, they received \$300, or \$190 less than they paid for it in 1886. Such a low selling price indicates the house was in deteriorated condition.

Unlike the Fishers, both the Pecks and Swicegoods were investors who probably possessed the financial resources to remodel the house. As first owners, they likely were the ones to convert the former church into a private home. The 1890 photo shows the major changes made: A chimney stack replaced the steeple, and the porch was removed. The door to the minister's room remained so the front of the building was not greatly altered. We can only guess what was done to the interior; homeowners after 1856 did not need the approval of any governing bodies to make changes to their houses. A second floor over the old *Saal* was likely; whether such a floor was added by new owners or was already there in 1861 is difficult to say.

The lack of documentation also makes it difficult to pin down when the old church was demolished. A check of the minutes of the Board of Commissioners turned up no leads, as did an extensive examination of church records. Sales prices and an examination of maps seem to show that the log church survived into the twentieth century. The last known reference to the log church in church records is 1872, when the trustees in passing mentioned the "old Negro church." The drawing in the 1891 Bird's Eye View of Salem shows a two-story house, very similar to the old church. The 1890 photo certainly seems to be the old church, too: Its dimensions (by Leland Ferguson's reckoning) and placement of doors and windows match the 1823 structure almost exactly. So we can say with reasonable certainty that the church survived into the 1890s.

That conclusion carries us into the Fisher years of ownership, who as noted received only \$300 for the property in 1904. A new house should have commanded more than \$300, but a deteriorated old one would not earn much on the market. Thus, it is also very likely that the church survived until 1904. The Sanborn Insurance map from 1912 shows a one-story house. That would mean the church was demolished sometime between 1904 and 1912. The deeds and sales prices hint at two possibilities: It was either torn down between 1904 and 1907, or 1907 and 1911. The likelier scenario is the former. If the assumption is correct that Elda Thomas and her husband Robley bought a deteriorated structure in 1904,

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<sup>102</sup>See the 1886 deed in appendix for details.

<sup>103</sup>Book 3, p. 500, Will 540, Forsyth County.



it is hard to explain how they turned around and sold it only three years later for \$2,000. A plausible scenario is that they built a new house. That would account for such a huge jump in price in such a short time.

The other possibility is that S.A. Kestler built a house between 1907 and 1911, when he sold it to G.E. Powell for \$7,600. This scenario appears less likely, despite another large jump in the sales price. If the Thomases did not build a new house after 1904, they must have spent money fixing up the old place to justify a \$2,000 sales price. And if the house was sold in good shape, it is hard to understand why a new owner would tear it down for a smaller home. Whatever the case, it seems safe to say the church was gone by 1912.

The history of the lot after 1912 is straightforward. The house that replaced the log church must have been built on a more southerly location, closer to Race Street. That is because the Myers bought the lot in 1915 and built a duplex on the northern half of the lot in the early 1920s (most likely 1922, according to the city directories which show two new addresses in 1923). After 1922, two houses co-existed on the single lot that formerly contained the log church. Lillie Myers lived in the one-story house on the southern half until 1918 when her husband died. She then rented the one-story house and moved into the duplex, along with another tenant, after it was built in 1922. Myers (who married John Scott in the 1930s) formally divided the lots in 1941, when she sold the one-story house to Virginia Montgomery. Myers owned the duplex until 1942, when she sold that property to the Ashburns. The northern half of the lot became known as Lot 203, the southern half as Lot 204. These lots remained in private hands until 1950, when the city of Winston-Salem purchased both lots and tore down the houses. The city cleared the lots for an addition to Central School, which was built on Race Street in 1924. There the school remained until 1977, when Old Salem Inc. purchased the school and tore it down.

The site is now grass, masking the extensive changes that occurred in the twentieth century. A span of about sixty years saw the old church demolished, two houses built and torn down, a massive brick school addition built and removed, and parking lots and driveways paved and torn up—a pushing around of dirt and cement that constitutes nothing short of a disaster for the archaeologist.





Figure 9. C. 1950 photo of log church site.  
Duplex house on the left c. 1922 and the 1909 house on right.



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## Time Line

### Building of the 1823 Church

4 March 1822

“Even though some of the Female Society had wished to make plans for the building of a particular Negro church, it was thought that this was too soon, one would first have to see how this plan would take hold among the Negroes and whether a congregation would be gathered from among them before one could begin to think of a church for them and decided on a place for it.” (Congregation Diary)

23 January 1823

“The building of a Negro church has now been decided and the location next to the Parish God’s Acre has been indicated. The Society learned with pleasure that it had come this far without many difficulties and promised also to take a beneficent share in the construction.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

4 February 1823

“Br. Abraham Steiner Sr., has raised the question whether it is not time to build a church for the Negroes. The Negroes continue to attend the services held at fourteen-day intervals. It is hard for Br. Steiner to hold these services at distant points, and not many suitable places are available. Conference was of the opinion that it would be advantageous and useful, and that it would further the plan, if a separate church should be built for use of the poor Negroes. The best place for the church would probably be to the south, near the parish graveyard. It can be a log house, 40 by 24 feet in size, with a porch in which the Negroes could gather, and with about ten feet cut off to furnish a room for the minister. The church auditorium would then be 30 by 24 feet in size. With the help of the Female Missionary Society, the owners of the Negroes, and other contributors, the cost could gradually be covered without calling on the Mission Department of the Unity.” (Provincial Elders Conference minutes)

12 February 1823

“Conference concurs in the opinion of the P.E.C. that it is time to build a church for the use of the Negroes.” (Aeltesten Conferenz minutes)



- 12 February 1823      “On representations by Br. Abr. Steiner, Provincial Helpers’ Conference finds it is time to build a church for the Negroes. A log house is favored. The best place for it seemed to be beside the parish graveyard. The location is to be further discussed with Aufseher Collegium.” (PEC minutes)
- 26 February 1823      “It has been decided that the Negro Church shall be 32 by 28 feet in size, and 12 feet high. On the south gable there shall be an 8 foot addition for the use of the minister. In the wall between this room and the church there shall be a chimney, with a fireplace in the church and another in the room. Along the west wall there shall be a porch where the Negroes may gather before a service.” (PEC minutes in *Moravian Records*, vol. 8, p. 3638)
- translation of same passage, from extracts of Elders Conference minutes in Old Salem research files: “Discussion on the Negro Church. Decided that it should be 32 x 28 ft. and 12 ft. high, with an addition 8 ft. wide built on the south gable for a room for the minister’s use and where he can stay before services begin. At the middle wall there is to be a chimney with a fireplace in the church and in the room. There is to be a porch along the west side where the Negroes may gather before the services.”
- 3 March 1823      “The Collegium was asked whether it would be willing that logs for the Negro Church should be cut on the Salem land, and some of them on the land of the Single Brothers House? Collegium agreed to this. Br. John Leinbach offered to select the trees, about twenty, which should be cut on the Single Brothers land, so that not all should be taken at one place. Br. Clauder will select the trees to be cut on the Salem land; probably the woods behind Br. Schuman will be the best place for that.” (Aufseher Collegium)
- 3 April 1823      “Br. Traugott Leinbach asked whether he is allowed to use some timber from white oaks, not to be taken for construction any more. He wishes to burn bricks. The Collegium gave him its consent, however, with the condition that he also uses the top of those trees, which are cut for the construction of the Negro Church.” (Translation of Aufseher Collegium in Old Salem research files)



translation of same passage in *Moravian Records*, vol. 8, p. 3639:

“Br. Traugott Leinbach asks whether he may use for burning brick white oak wood that is not suitable for building purposes. The Collegium grants his request, but wishes that so far as possible he would use the branches of the trees cut for the Negro church.”

27 July 1823

“The president reported that work is being done now on the Negro Church: shingles, boards and logs have been brought but because of the great amount of field work, the Negroes have not been able to do anything on it.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

27 September 1823

“The new church building was erected by the Negroes.” (Congregation Diary)

27 September 1823

“Thirty Negroes gathered to lay up the logs for the church for Negroes. The Female Missionary Society has with pleasure undertaken to bear the expense. All went off well.” (Salem Diary)

December 1823

“F. Meinung Dt. [debtor] to John Lick  
to making 3 doors for the Negro church \$6”  
(Bills, Receipts & Vouchers for the year 1823)

6 December 1823

“today, like a week ago, several Negroes were here to plaster the inside of the church.” (Congregation Diary)

15 December 1823

“The table, the chair and the white cloth formerly destined for the lithurg in the Choir hall of the Brothers House, are going to be presented to the negro Church.” (Aufseher Collegium minutes)

21 December 1823

“As the Negro Church is now ready and the dedication of the same has been set for Sunday after Christmas, the 27th of this month, and as the members of the Female Mission Society are invited to attend the same, the Directors came together to consider how they are to be notified. It was decided that each of the Collectors should take her list and notify the Sisters whose names are given there. Also Diener Sisters were named who are to cook the coffee for the lovefeast. They were called in and asked to do it.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)



- 21 December 1823 "Finally it was announced that the following Sunday the new church was to be dedicated and that they would come the preceding Saturday in order to clean up and to put everything in order." (Congregation Diary)
- 28 December 1823 "We gathered at noon at 12 o'clock at the new church. In front of the church, the tune, "To God alone by the glory" was played twice by the horns, while those present gathered inside the building. There were about 90 blacks present. In addition there were a number of the Brethren from the town and a large number of Sisters." (Congregation Diary)
- 28 December 1823 "With some assistance, especially from the Female Missionary Society, the Negro church has been finished, and this day was set for its consecration. About ninety Negroes, men and women, gathered from the neighborhood." (Salem Diary)
- 1823 Memorabilia "It is also worthy of note that during this year a separate meeting-house for the Negroes of this neighborhood has been erected, which could be dedicated before the close of the year, that is on December 28th. Its use has begun, and at that first service a married Negress was baptized."
- 21 March 1858 Report of the Salem Female Missionary Society (read March 21, 1858) "In 1823 a church was built for the use of the Negroes....The erection of the church, aided by donations in wood and money, was the work of our society."
- 11 January 1824 "The newly elected directors all accepted their offices gladly. We encouraged each other to renewed interest in missions. The funds of the Society shall be used to pay for the Negro Church." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 11 January 1824 "In the afternoon the Female Missionary Society met, and \$150 was contributed toward the building of the Negro Church." (Salem Diary)
- 9 January 1825 "Next the contribution was read. The amount of \$104 is on interest. This will remain until next year when it together with the interest will be used for canceling the costs of the Negro Church." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)



8 January 1826	"The cost of building the Negro Church totalled	381.00 $\frac{3}{4}$
	"Then, the Society paid in Jan. 1824	151.60 $\frac{1}{2}$
	"Through various contributions	<u>25.96 <math>\frac{1}{4}</math></u>
		177.56 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Bal.	203.44

"The treasurer has remaining in hand on this day 13.95"  
(Annual Report, Female Mission Society)

9 January 1826 "Paid off the Bal. due on Negro Church in order of the Resolution of the Society 203.44" (Book A, Female Mission Society from 1822 to 8 July 1853)

### Evolution of the Church

30 April 1825 "pd. Abr. Steiner for Gilding the Ball and Vane, painting the Steeple, & setting up the Scaffel & taking it down 15.50"  
"pd. Abr. Steiner for painting 3 lamps .... 2.25" (Salem Diacony Journal III)

5 July 1825 "The Society learned with pleasure that another gift of \$20 from the Philadelphia Missionary Society, intended for the Negro Church, reached our Society through Bro. Hermann."  
(Minutes, Female Mission Society)

17 January 1827 Female Mission Society has \$60 on hand; "The [financial] status was presented to the Society and the question was asked how they wanted to use the \$60 balance, which is in the account, whether it should be used for something else. Opinions were divided. Some wished to send a gift to the Hottentots. A vote was taken, 27 to 9, were for sending a gift to the Hottentots, the rest to invest it for the Negro Church. After another inquire, it was decided to send \$50 to the Hottentots.... Some repairs on the Negro Church will be taken care of by the Society and paid from their treasury."  
(Minutes, Female Mission Society)

4 March 1827 "Today several Sisters began to teach the Negro young people, in their church, giving them instruction in English, spelling, and reading." (Salem Diary)



- 8 July 1827 "The Primers which have been bought for the Negro Sunday school are to be paid from the treasury. The Society is unanimous in the decision that the Negro Church is to be weather boarded." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 30 September 1827 "pd Oct. 1, 1827, towards finishing the Negr. Church 62.75" (Book A, Female Mission Society) [see following entry; this refers to weather-boarding the church]
- 6 January 1828 "...expenditure....for Weather boarding the Negro Church and the Gallerie of the Porch 62.75" (Annual Report, Female Mission Society)
- 11 January 1829 "The motion that the book which Bro. Abr. Steiner had bought for the Negro school should be paid by the treasurer had the approval of the whole group." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 17 July 1829 "The President was asked to examine the Negro Church and to order the necessary repairs before winter." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 1 February 1830 "To Abr. Steiner jun[ior] for the upper floor in the Negroe Church 12.00" (Book A, Female Mission Society)
- 4 July 1830 "For repairs on Negro Church 12.00" (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 18 December 1832 "The chairman pointed out the need of repairs on the [Home] church roof and suggested it might be wise to buy shingles gradually....The Brethren will make an inquiry which shingles —pine or cedar—are best for the purpose."(PEC minutes)
- August 1833 "On the 28th....During a hailstorm I was in Gottlieb Leinbach's house. This storm broke 25 window panes in the Negro Church and broke down a section of the God's Acre fence." (Congregation Diary)



“Though the Cedar shingles cost \$2.50 per mille in Fayetteville, and though the freight will cost another \$2.—the Collegium agreed that we should order cedar shingles for our [Home] church on account of their good quality.” (PEC minutes)

“This morning a beam was ignited by the coals through a stovepipe in the church and almost burned. We are thankful that the fire died out through God’s watchful hand without causing considerable damage. We must be careful to cut out several beams around the pipe....and to lay in bricks in the space. We want to go completely without fire in the church, but when we consider that the poor Negroes are often thinly clothed in the cold weather and have no place to warm themselves, we must try to help them.” (Landarbeiter Konferenz Berichte)

“It was recommended to propose to the Society to buy for the Negroes a *Spade Hacke* [spade is the English word, *Hacke* = pickax, mattock, hoe] and a *Kruphacke* [this probably should be *Grubhacke* and could be translated digging pick, or a pickax]—to be used in digging two ditches.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

“paid for broken Window lights in Negroe Church	1.26
paid for a spade and shuffle [shovel]	1.50
for a rope (at burials)	1.
broken window lights	1.50”
(Book A, Female Mission Society)	

“Disbursement	
Paid out for wood for [Negro] Tim:	2. 00
Window panes	2.75
1 spade & shovel	1.50”
(Minutes, Female Mission Society)	



- 14 December 1834 "It was announced to the Negroes, that as praiseworthy as it is of them and as much as it shows their devotion to their church and worship services, that they wanted to collect money for an iron stove for the church, still in the future they should not again be involved in collecting money because it could be misunderstood or thought wrong. Perhaps some other means could be found in time to get such a stove for them, something which they really need." (Congregation Diary)
- 11 January 1835 "It was decided to buy an iron stove for the Negro Church—by majority vote." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 19 January 1835 "The chairman announced that the Female Missionary Society will see to it that the Negroes receive their own lovefeast vessels.
- "Where a stove or stoves could be installed in the church is an important consideration for the future." (Aufseher Collegium)
- 10 July 1835 "stove pipes for the Negro Church 3.30." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 1 August 1835
- |                          |       |
|--------------------------|-------|
| "paid for an iron stove  | 14.15 |
| to Jordan Freight        | 5.24  |
| a mattack for the blacks | 1.25" |
- (Book A, Female Mission Society)
- December 1835 "On the 19th the church was scrubbed." (Congregation Diary)
- 5 January 1836 "For a stove \$14.15 [note: this is the stove bought in August 1835]  
"for a Grubhacke 1.25"  
(Board of Directors minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 31 March 1836
- |  |        |
|--|--------|
| "paid to Phil. Reich for the Stove pipes | \$3.30 |
| to Jacob Reich for a coal pan            | .75"   |
- (Book A, Female Mission Society)



16 July 1837	"By a majority of votes it was decided to make window shutters for the Negro Church." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
7 January 1838	"The annual financial report for 1837 was presented to the Society. In that connection it was observed that for various reasons the window shutters for the Negro Church could not yet be made." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
20 January 1838	"Paid for 4 shutters 3.05" (Book A, Female Mission Society)
February 1838	<p>"For 4 window shutters in the Negro Church 2.55  and for boards <u>.50</u>  3.05</p> <p>(Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)</p>
15 April 1838 (Easter)	"The church could not hold the large number of listeners. Several had to find places on the gallery." <sup>104</sup> (Congregation Diary)
15 July 1838	"Expense for repairs on the Negro Church and mission publications 4.77" (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
15 July 1838	"It was suggested that those windows in the Negro Church which have not yet been provided with shutters, should have these provided, several broken window panes should be replaced, and a door put at the entrance to the porch. The Society gave its approval to these suggestions." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
January 1840	"2.75—paid Br. Th. Pfohl for repairs on the Negro Church" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
May 1840	"Pd. Tho. Pfohl for repairs and for boards at the Negro church 5.50" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)

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<sup>104</sup>This most likely means the exterior porch and not an interior gallery. Diary translation is by Elizabeth Marx. The original German passages throughout this period, and especially in 1823 when the church's design was discussed, call the porch a *Gallerie*, preferring that term over the German word for porch, *Vordach*. Moravian officials probably preferred the former term because of its more expansive connotations in describing a porch that ran the length of the building.



- November 1841 "To T. Pfohl for rep. of Negroe window glass 4.68 3/4 for shutters part 5.75" (Book A, Female Mission Society)
- February 1842 "For boards and for screws for window shutters at the Negro Church 1.95" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- February 1842 "For screws and hinges for window shutters at the Negro Church 1.95" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- March 1842 "On Easter Sunday, the 27th, we gathered in front of the Negro Church for praying the Easter Litany, and after we had lined up in the proper order, the procession followed to the God's Acre where the Easter Litany was prayed. Immediately after that was the sermon on Luke 24:7, for which more than 200 listeners had come, all of whom listened with the greatest attentiveness and without creating any disturbance." (Congregation Diary)
- May 1842 "Paid Br. Geo. Hege for boards for the window shutters 3.80" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- May 1842 "For work cutting window shutters 1.00" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- July 1842 "towards Negroe Church repairs, screws hinges smithwork & board for window shutters 6.75" (Book A, Female Mission Society)
- 23 January 1843 "Br. Theod. Schultz is recommending careful supervision of the negro house [church], since the Fire Inspectors believe that easily inflammable materials are stacked there too near to the fire." (Aufseher Collegium)
- 27 August 1843 "As the Methodists had two services at two different places in the vicinity of Salem, only a few Negroes came to the services here, and in addition to that, the keys to the church could not be found anywhere, so no service was kept here." (Congregation Diary)



- 24 November 1844 "One Negro promised to get some firewood this week to heat the church because it is beginning to be cold."  
(Congregation Diary)
- 9 March 1845 "During the Communion in an adjoining room the children were instructed in the truth of salvation by some of the Sisters." (Congregation Diary)
- 23 March 1845  
Easter "Since the church was packed full of Negroes, and many had to stand outside, we took advantage of this wonderful opportunity to recall to mind one of the most important scenes of the suffering of our dear Lord." (Congregation Diary)
- 8 June 1845 "As the heat today was excessively high, the Negroes seemed to be somewhat restless and the going in and out of the church more frequent than usually, so this restlessness was disturbing to the rest." (Congregation Diary)
- 16 June 1845 "Two of the Communicant Sisters came to us to announce that the Communicant Congregation wishes that in the future no Negroes should be admitted as observers when the Holy Communion is celebrated because it has been noticed that afterwards these [observers] talk only casually about it, have a lot to criticize and even make fun of it. Therefore in the future, as much as possible we will no longer admit strangers to the Holy Communion as observers."  
(Congregation Diary)
- 1845 "The Female Miss. Society has had the opportunity from 1823 to 1845 to undertake the following loving actions:  

"The building of the local Negro Church	429.79 ½
Repairs on the graveyard	62.49 ¾
Stove, pipe and different church and funeral instruments	<u>27.29</u>
	519.58"

  
(Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- 11 January 1846 "A review of all the disbursements of the Society since its organization in the year 1822 for the local Negro Church as well as for the various Mission station of the Brethren in home and foreign fields was presented and perceived with warm interest. The total amount of the disbursements comes to \$1538.11" (Minutes, Female Mission Society)



13 January 1846	<p>“By Cash pd. for Sugar, Coffee, &amp; Cream for lovefeast 2.62 for Cakes 4.40” (Book A, Female Mission Society)</p>
1 March 1846	<p>“As the weather today was extremely unpleasant so that it could hardly be expected that even one of the Negroes would venture to come to church, still when Bro. Byhan came into church, he found it heated and 18 Negroes waiting for the service.” (Congregation Diary)</p>
10 January 1847	<p>“It was mentioned that some repairs are necessary on the local Negro church and that a new cover for the communion table is needed. The Society made itself responsible to take care of these expenses from its resources.” ( Minutes, Female Mission Society)</p>
19 February 1847	<p>“By cash pd. for Window Lights, Merino etc. for Negro Church 1.84” (Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)</p>
1 January 1848	<p>“As the front porch of the local Negro church is in need of significant repairs, the Society shall be asked in its business meeting whether it will be willing and in a position to cover all, or at least a part from its funds.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)</p>
1847	<p>Report of May, June, July: “In particular play mania has become so prevalent among them that even when [the bell] rings for the services, they won’t let themselves be disturbed in their playing and either do not come at all, or when the service has already been going on for half an hour, they enter with a lot of noise. But there is nothing that we can do except to pray.” (Congregation Diary)</p>



9 January 1848

“As the porch of the local Negro church will shortly require thorough repairs, it was suggested to the Director of the Society that an estimate of the probable costs of these repairs should be made and presented to the Society, and to learn whether the Society would be willing to assume these costs entirely or at least in part. In compliance with this, such a calculation was presented to our President by Bro. Byhan, from which it can be seen that these expenses might be as high as \$24. The Society was now asked to express itself whether it would be willing to cover these costs for the Negro church either in full or part. Unanimously the Society declared itself to the effect that it would meet these expenses entirely out of its resources.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

May 1848

“By Cash pd. for appropriation for repairing Negro Church 19.10” (Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)

9 June 1848

"Expenditure for the roof of the porch at the Negro Church:	
for shingles, 1200	4.20
for nails 25 [pds.?] @ 7 cts.	<u>1.75</u>
Due [pastor] G. Byhan	\$10.35
"Recd. payment in full	
Gottl. Byhan"	
(Receipt submitted to Female Mission Society)	

2 July 1848

“From part of the small Negro Congregation a very cordial word of thanks was delivered to the Society for their providing the improvement on the roof of the porch of the Negro Church.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

29 October 1848

“Only 14 Negroes came in for the service, in spite of the fact that we could see them flocked together on the street, and they had also been reminded to go into the church and to hear God’s word, but they were so fresh as to say they would not come. It is to be understood that these are Negroes who do not belong to our small Negro Congregation. May the Lord have mercy on them.”  
(Congregation Diary)

25 April 1849

“By Cash, pd. T. Pfohl for Window Lights & Putty for Negro Church .24” (Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)



6 January 1850

“At the request of Bro. Byhan, it was announced that the roof of the local Negro Church is in need of considerable repairs which can no longer be fittingly postponed, and the Society is requested to allocate something from its resources for this need. In consequence of this request, it was brought to the attention of the Society that several years ago, a well-known friend of Moravian missions, Mr. Alberti in Florida, had sent a gift of \$50 for the local Negro Congregation and that this gift could conveniently be used for the above-named purpose. Thankful for this gift, the Society declared itself now willing to cover the entire costs with inclusion of that contribution.

“Since there would still be a considerable balance on hand after taking off the costs of the repairs, with the inclusion of the collection which is to be made now, the Society decided unanimously to the effect that another gift of \$20 should be sent to the training school in Antigua.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

11 March 1850

“By Cash, pd. for 12100 Shingles @ \$3.50  
for Negro Church= \$42.35” (Treasurer’s Report,  
Female Mission Society)

April 1850

Report of April 1850 “As the Negro Church was to get a new roof during this month, so we took advantage of the opportunity on Sunday, the 14th after the sermon to discuss that with the Negroes who were present and to urge gratitude and that they should show appreciation to those friends, who in one way or another had provided the means for this. Since we know that they were not in a position to make contributions for these repairs, there still would be *one* way in which they could manifest this appreciation to their friends, and that it would be if their friends could see that when the bell rings on Sundays, they would hurry in crowds to the church and not as it has been frequently been the case that they would linger on the streets and corners of the alleys and carry on foolishness, and then perhaps when the divine service is almost at the end, they come and cause a disturbance for those who are present, or even never come in.” (Congregation Diary)



20 April 1850	<p>“By Cash, pd. D. Tewes’ Bill for Roofing &amp; Repair at Negro Church} 20.42</p> <p>By Cash. pd. for Laths &amp; Piling Shingles 2.</p> <p>By Cash, pd. for Nails &amp; Window Glass 5.15”</p> <p>(Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)</p>														
22 July 1855	<p>“It was made known by various members that a number of things in the Negro Church had become spoiled; it seemed particularly necessary to procure a new cover for the table, whereupon the Society declared itself willing to assume the expenses for that.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)</p>														
13 January 1856	<p>“By Cash pd. J.A. Friebel for 4 yds. merino @ 1.12 ½ 4.50</p> <p>brass nails &amp; tape .50”</p> <p>(Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)</p>														
13 January 1856	<p>“Br. Friebele’s Report of the negro church was communicated in which he expressed his thanks for the new cloth presented to the church by the society.</p> <p>“It was resolved to whitewash the negro church from without to give it a better appearance; for this purpose a committee of 3 sisters was appointed, viz. Sis. Shuman, Bagge &amp; Fulkerson, which committee was also directed to make such improvements in the interior of the church as they might deem advisable.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)</p>														
April 1856	<p>“By Cash pd. J.A. Friebel for repairs at negro Church, viz:</p> <table border="0"> <tbody> <tr> <td>for flooring boards &amp; oak scantling</td> <td>9.54</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for two posts 24 ft.</td> <td>.72</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for 16 pd. nails</td> <td>.98</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for 1 pair of hinges</td> <td>.28</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for hauling</td> <td>3.38</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for repair of porch, floor in the Church &amp; 2 shutters</td> <td><u>14</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>28.90</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <p>“contributed by Br. Friebel for sale of old boards —.50 3.80</p> <p>Br. Wm. Fries furnished the timber for sleepers[?] &amp; sills as Adam’s contribution, gratis</p> <p>Br. George Hege furnished some weatherboards &amp; flooring gratis” (Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)</p>	for flooring boards & oak scantling	9.54	for two posts 24 ft.	.72	for 16 pd. nails	.98	for 1 pair of hinges	.28	for hauling	3.38	for repair of porch, floor in the Church & 2 shutters	<u>14</u>		28.90
for flooring boards & oak scantling	9.54														
for two posts 24 ft.	.72														
for 16 pd. nails	.98														
for 1 pair of hinges	.28														
for hauling	3.38														
for repair of porch, floor in the Church & 2 shutters	<u>14</u>														
	28.90														



27 July 1856                      “As the purchase of the melodeon would probably consume all the cash on hand, it was resolved to anticipate the next half yearly collection and appropriate funds for the repairing of the porch at the negro church, which is absolutely necessary.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

[illegible]

25 January 1857

“Br. Friebele’s report was read. The state of his small Negro Congregation he writes is upon the whole encouraging. The fifth of October had been a day of great rejoicing; for then, the new Melodeon which had been presented by this society was used for the first time; in the name of his congregation he returned thanks for the same.” ( Minutes, Female Mission Society)

17 January 1858

“The Query having come up before the meeting, whether the Negro Church stood in need of any appropriations, it was stated that another Chair for the Minister’s Desk would be a very acceptable thing. A motion to the effect that steps should be taken to procure the Chair, having been made, seconded and approved, Sr. Bahnson and Sr. Kremer were appointed as Chair Committee.” (Minutes, Female Mission Society)

31 January 1858	“By Cash pd. Mrs Kremer for negro Church:	
	[1 7/8 yds.] oil cloth	1.40
	[1/2 yds. <sup>105</sup> ] Domestic	.10
	tacks	.10
	work of L. Belo	1.50
	work of A. Fogel	1.25
	hymnbook	<u>.50</u>
		4.85”
	(Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)	

<sup>105</sup>Dimensions in brackets are from a store receipt submitted with the treasurer's report.



21 March 1858

"Statement of appropriations from 1823 to 1858	
"Negro Church	\$731.59
West Indies	450.00
Greenland	280.00
Indian Mission	315.00
General Mission fund	130.00
Bethany Negro church	
& graveyard	35.00
Sundry others	<u>50.00</u>
	1991.59"

(Report of the Salem Female Mission Society)

18 July 1858

"For the comfortable seat procured for the preacher the undersigned express due thanks, but add the suggestion that cheap backs be fixed to the benches of the audience so that they may not crowd up to the missionary [preacher]—sitting all along the sides of the church, leave its center in the middle right before the speaker, comparatively empty."  
(Report of pastor George Bahnson to Female Mission Society)

9 January 1859

"It being one of the professed objects of your society to contribute towards the funds required for carrying on the mission work we could....make a suggestion in reference to this matter—the negro church will probably require no appropriation at this time." (Report to Female Mission Society)

### **Fate of the 1823 Log Church**

7 August 1859

"After singing & prayer Br. Bahnson addressed the meeting, stating among other things that as nearly all the colored people attending our church were not, as originally, residents of the neighborhood, but belonging almost exclusively to members of the Salem congregation, therefore the African church could in no ways be considered in the light of a mission church, but constituted rather a part of our own church here at Salem. On this account the pastor of the church had consented to be charged with the colored congregation likewise. This society would therefore be at liberty to apply its funds elsewhere." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)



- 25 May 1860      “Among other reasons, the following may be given as the principal for proposing to build a new church:  
                       “Besides being poorly adopted to the purposes for which it is used, the old church has become so much too small that on ordinary occasions the want of room is felt to be a serious inconvenience; while at funerals, baptisms, & particular church festivals, it does not even contain near all the colored people—such white people as we would gladly see there on some of these occasions being prevented from coming by the want of room. That it is our duty to provide ample & sufficient attractive church accommodations for our rapidly growing colored population will not be doubted by any member of your Board.—I need not therefore refer to the personal inconvenience of preaching on a summer afternoon in such a place as the present negro church when in a crowded state, or adduce any further reasons.” (F.H. Holland letter to Rev. Thos. Pfohl)
- 9 January 1861      Board of Trustees considers motion to sell the former church site, but holds off making a decision until the value of the lot can be learned.
- 29 October 1861      “Board resolved to view the premises of the Old Negro Church, preparatory to the laying off of a lot for said building.” (Board of Trustees minutes)
- 20 November 1861      “The lot for the old Negro Church has now been laid off.... It has a front of 124 feet & a depth of 218 feet on the North side—on the South the line runs parallel with the North side for 140 feet and then forms an angle owing to the locality of the ground, striking the East line 73 feet from the N.E. corner of the lot. Along the South side of this lot runs a lane 20 feet wide to give access to the lot of Br. George Hege & to the piece of ground situated behind the new lot.” (Board of Trustees)
- November, December 1861      “To New Negro Church recd. for sundries sold at public sale 10.38” (Journal V, Salem Diacony)



November, December 1861	<p>“New Negro Church Dr. [debtor] to Lewis Belo          For auctioneering at the sale of the Old Church &amp;          Calvin Peck Dr. to Sundries 1.00          To Salem Town Lots for Lot No. 248 140.00          To New Negro Church for the purchase          of the Old Negro Church          sold at public auction Dec. 4/61          210.00”          (Journal V, Salem Diacony)</p>
November, December 1861	<p>“Sundry Drs. to Calvin Peck          Salem Savings Institute for a transfer of a Certificate          in favor of Augustus Fogle dated Oct. 5 1861 200.00          a transfer of a Certificate in favor of Calvin          Peck dated March 20/61 75.00</p> <p>Interest for amount of Interest due on          A. Fogler certif. to Dec, 16th....on C. Peck’s 1.94          certificate 2.71          (Journal V, Salem Diacony)</p>
20 December 1861	<p>“In reference to #2 of the last minutes mention was made          that the Old Negro Church &amp; Lot sold for \$350—of which          sum, according to agreement, Diacony received \$140 for the          lot &amp; and the Salem Female Missionary Society \$210 for the          church.” (Board of Trustees minutes)</p>
9 January 1867	<p>“A communication from Drs. Shaffner and Keehln was          presented &amp; read by the Mayor, in which they propose to          have some isolated building procured for homeless and          destitute persons (within the Corporate limits of the Town          of Salem) who are afflicted with small Pox and they Drs.          Shaffner &amp; Keehln will give the above named afflicted          persons all the necessary Medical attention free of charge.</p> <p>“A motion was made &amp; carried to make a hospital          out of the old Negro Church for homeless and destitute          persons who are sick with Small Pox provided the necessary          arrangements can be made with Mrs. Elis. Peck the present          owner of said House &amp; lot.” (Salem Board of          Commissioners)</p>



24 January 1867

“The Mayor stated that the object of the meeting was to try to procure some more suitable place for the Freedman’s Hospital as its present situation [in the old Negro Church] proved dissatisfactory to a number of the citizens in that portion of Town. After a discussion on the subject, a motion was made & carried to appoint a committee whereupon the Mayor was appointed A. Fogle, J.D. Siewers. A. Spaugh & J.G. Sides to see in what condition the Old House (situated near where Henry Blum formerly resided) is & and to repair it for a Hospital if in their opinion its present condition would justify the same, otherewise the Hospital to remain where it now is.

“The Board next took in consideration the caring for Old Ted now sick in the Hospital, whereupon a motion was made & carried to appoint a committee....to see to & provide for said Ted’s necessary wants.” (Board of Commissioners)

5 February 1867

“The Hospital committee reported that they had repaired the old Brick house for a hospital & in their opinion will do very well for that purpose.

“The sick committee reported that they furnished the hospital with Blankets Tin Cups Table & employed a nurse at one dollar per day until Ted died, when the nurse was employed at \$13.00 per month he to be held in reserve for future emergency.” (Board of Commissioners)

12 November 1867

“Mr. Hauser stated that he had discovered apparent danger in the way Old Nancy freedman who lives in the old Negro Church had fixed or intended to fix a stovepipe whereupon it was moved that A. Fogle & J.D. Siewers be appointed to investigate the matter.” (Board of Commissioners)

## **The Parish Graveyard**

*The following information turned up during the course of research on the 1823 log church; it is not meant to be a comprehensive account of the parish graveyard. For more information on the graveyard, see Leland Ferguson, “A Report on Archaeological Testing of the St. Philip’s Moravian Church and Parish Graveyard.” The appendix also includes a timeline on the graveyard.*



- 22 January 1828 "The negro dead will not be entombed anymore in our Salem funeral chapel, but will be brought immediately to the negro church." (Aufseher Collegium minutes)
- 6 October 1833 "On the following Saturday the fence is to be repaired and the God's Acre cleaned." (Congregation Diary)
- 12 October 1833 "The God's Acre was cleaned and the fence was repaired." (Congregation Diary)
- 10 January 1836 "A vote was taken on the suggestion in regard to the Negro God's Acre and it was decided that the Society would provide the materials for this if the Negroes themselves would make it under suitable instruction." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- March 1836 "Material for God's Acre Fence at the Negro Church 17.43 1/4" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- April 1836 "I spoke with the owners and asked them to allow their Negroes to have the day [off] on the coming Saturday in order to fence the God's Acre. Various ones had many difficulties, so that on Saturday, the 9th, only 7 Negroes came for that, and only half of the fencing was accomplished." (Congregation Diary)
- April 1836 "Repairs rec. for 100' board Negr. graveyard .75" (Journal III, Salem Diacony)
- 17 January 1837 "Expenditure for the repair of the Negro God's Acre Fence 1.30" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- 6 July 1836 "Posts, cross-bars, clap boards for the fence of the Negro God's Acre 17.43 1/2." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 1 November 1837 "For Fence at Negro God's Acre 10.85" (Board of Directors minutes, Female Mission Society)
- November 1837 "Improvements for the God's Acre Fence at the Negro Church and for materials 1.30, 3.55 & 16—10.85" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)



- 15 April 1838 "It is found necessary that the Negro God's Acre be thoroughly cleaned, and the Negroes are to be encouraged to do this work themselves at a convenient time and under proper instruction." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- 14 July 1839 "The wish was expressed that a complete improvement of the fence around the Negro God's Acre might be undertaken as soon as possible." (Minutes, Female Mission Society)
- August 1841 "For Negro God's Acre repair .37 1/2" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- 27 February 1842 "After that, it was decided that the fence of the God's Acre would be repaired. The God's Acre itself put in order before Easter by the brethren and those who have relatives buried in the God's Acre." (Congregation Diary)
- January 1843 "For Geo. Brendle for work on the God's Acre fence .75" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- 2 April 1843 "As it is customary that the Negro God's Acre is cleaned up before Easter and the land around it improved, this matter was discussed with the Negroes how and in which way this work was to be done. At least one Negro was appointed who was to do this and the rest, or the others would pay him for it." (Congregation Diary)
- May 1843 "Repairs on the Negro God's [Acre] fence 1.84" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)
- 15 December 1844 "As the Negro God's Acre is in such bad condition that animals, especially the pigs<sup>106</sup> can get in and disturb the graves, therefore today in a conversation with them after the service it was presented to them how necessary it is for them to work together to bring their God's Acre in order again so that it might not be completely ruined. They promised to bring it back into condition again *before* the New Year." (Congregation Diary)

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<sup>106</sup>Rampaging pigs apparently were a serious problem in the commercial town of Salem during the antebellum period. Trying to control this menace was a concern of the Aufseher Collegium, which debated the issue frequently at its meetings.



29 December 1844	<p>“The Negroes also decided that on January 1, their God’s Acre—which is in need of a thorough tidying up—would be brought into order.” (Congregation Diary)</p>															
27 April 1846	<p>“By Cash pd. for nails</p> <p>“By Cash pd. for work at fence of</p> <p style="padding-left: 100px;">Negro Graveyard</p> <p>(Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)</p>	<p>.53</p> <p>1.”</p>														
4 August 1847	<p>“By cash pd. for Sundry Lumber for Negro Graveyard Fences 2.20 1/2” (Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)</p>															
31 December 1853	<p>“By Cash pd. J.A. Friebel for fence negro graveyard:</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td>viz for palings to D. Spach</td> <td style="text-align: right;">20.05</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for posts to J.C. Burkhard</td> <td style="text-align: right;">4.90</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for making fence to J. Chitty</td> <td style="text-align: right;">12.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for 52 pd. nails</td> <td style="text-align: right;">3.43</td> </tr> <tr> <td>for 5 days work G. Hege &amp; Samuels</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2.56</td> </tr> <tr> <td>off for old palings sold</td> <td style="text-align: right;">– <u>.75</u></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">42.69</td> </tr> </table> <p>(Treasurer’s Report, Female Mission Society)</p>		viz for palings to D. Spach	20.05	for posts to J.C. Burkhard	4.90	for making fence to J. Chitty	12.50	for 52 pd. nails	3.43	for 5 days work G. Hege & Samuels	2.56	off for old palings sold	– <u>.75</u>		42.69
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## Salem Diacony Journals and Ledgers

"From 1 June 1822 to 31st May 1823

For the Negro Church \$100.00" (Diacony Account)<sup>107</sup>

### Journal III

*The following items covering the period July 1823 to December 1823, copied from Journal III, are included to give an indication of the type of materials being used in Salem while the log church was under construction and their cost. The key months are July 1823, when materials were apparently stockpiled at the site; September, when the slaves put up the walls; and late November/early December when they finished the interior. The keeper of this journal did not designate where these materials were headed, but the money came from the account entitled "Repairs." That, however, does not necessarily mean that the materials were for repair projects, only that the repair fund was paying for the work. Smaller amounts likely were for repair work, but larger orders were quite possibly for the log church. Other ledgers clearly show that money from "Repairs" was used for purchases at the log church. Unless otherwise specified, all entries are from the Journals.*

"Salem July 1st to 30th 1823"

"pd. for 1000 feet of Plank 10.

"pd. for 1100 feet of Plank 11.

"pd. Pfaff for 46 Bush. of Lime 20.70."

July 15, 1823

"By Furniture paid Abr. Steiner for 1 sett of Chairs 15.00" (Diacony Cash Book)

"Salem August 18th 1823"

"pd. for 2000 Joint shingles 8.

"pd. for 20 Bush. of Lime 9."

Aug. 25, 1823

"pd. for flooring planks 10.60"

To Abraham Steiner....1823 Aug. By Cash recd. his Congr. Expenses 9.51 1/2"

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<sup>107</sup>This shows that the Salem congregation advanced money for the log church's construction by May 1823.



(Ledger E, Salem Diacony)

Oct. 1, 1823

"pd. for 1300 Joint shingles	5.20
"pd. for 260 feet 2 1/2 Inch plank	6.50
"pd. for 20 pds. of Nails at Waughs at 15d	3.
"pd. for hauling Brick	1.83
"pd. for 299 feet 2 1/2 Inch plank	10.75"

Nov. 7, 1823

"By Abr. Steiner Dr. [debtor] to Repairs for 26 feet 2 inch plank .55" (Cash Book)

Nov. 13, 1823

"By Abr. Steiner Dr. to Repairs for 1 1/2 Days work by Al. Sohn 1.31. 1/4" (Cash Book)

Nov. 22, 1823

"By Administr. Dr. to Repairs for 1 quart Wh. [whiskey] for Negroe Church	.15"
"By Administr. Dr. to Repairs for 1 plank for Negroe Church	.15"
"By Administr. Dr. to Repairs for Wh. [whiskey] for N. Church (Cash Book)	.15"

Dec. 7, 1823

"pd. for 1000 lap shingles 6.50"

July 1824

"To repairs for wk. for Negroe Church 100 diff. times .40" (Ledger E, Salem Diacony)

July 21, 1824

"By Repairs pd. Abr. Steiner as per bill 35.95" (Cash Book)<sup>108</sup>

July 22 till Aug. 11, 1824

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<sup>108</sup>This is a relatively significant expense; it most likely was a leftover bill from the church's construction in 1823.



"Administration for Whisky for Negroe Church to different times .40"

4 Oct. 1824 "Br. Theodor Schulz to Wilk. Fries

52 Window Lights with Glass

Negro 10.40"<sup>109</sup> (Bills, Receipts & Vouchers)

Nov. 18, 1824

"By Administr. Dr. to Repairs for Plank by Abr. Steiner 1.03" (Cash Book)

1824 "To Meinung & Henry Leinen

to 3 pairs of hinges for Negro Church 20 shillings

to 3 steeples 1/6 mill 2.68 3/4" (Bills, Receipts & Vouchers)

April 27, 1825

"By Salem Cong. paid Abr. Steiner, for Gilding the Ball & vane, paint.[ing] the Steeple, & setting up the Scaffel & taking it down as per Bill, & at 15.50

"by Do. [Salem Congregation] pd. Abr. Steiner for painting 3 lamps 2.25" (Cash Book)

April 30, 1825

"pd. Abr. Steiner for Gilding the Ball & Vane, painting the steeple, & setting up the Scaffel & taking it down 15.50

"pd. Abr. Steiner for painting 3 Lamps 2.25."<sup>110</sup>

#### Journal IV

April 7, 1826

"Repairs, pd. for 1 Bushel of Lime to Negroe Matt .87 1/2"

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<sup>109</sup>This is a puzzling entry; it is not clear this purchase is for the church; other receipts from 1824 mention the Negro Quarter at Schumann's plantation. It is also unclear how 52 window panes could cost so much.

<sup>110</sup>The reference to the steeple and ball and vane clearly refer to the log church; the entry about the three lamps could possibly be for Steiner's private home. The lamps were likely oil lamps; unrelated entries of lamps from this period call them oil lamps.



Oct. 19, 1830 "Sundry accounts Debtors to Bookstore"

"Abraham Steiner Sen. for 5 vol. of printed accounts/newest 2.50

"Abraham Steiner for 4 Mission prints 1.30"<sup>111</sup>

## Journal V

January 1840 "Sundry Drs. to Repairs"

"Administration to 8 window glasses for Negro Ch. @ 6 1/4 . 50

"a whitewash brush x 1.00 a box of glass 9-1x 5.14

6.14"

April 1840

"pd. for hinges & screws for Negro Church .50

"pd. bd. & wages for work at Negro Ch. & graveyard 4.00"

April 1840

"Administration to 1/2 bu. unsl. lime .37 1/2"

"scantlings, boards & nails for Negro Church 1.50"

April 1843

"Administration for Negro Church 100' palings .34"

September 1843

"Gottl. Byhan to Salem Bible Association.

"To a testament .12 1/2"

April 1844

"Gottl. Byhan Debtor to Salem Tract Society.

To Sacred Songs .56"

December 1845

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<sup>111</sup>The books Steiner purchased were likely for his home, but the Mission prints were quite possibly for the church.



"To American Tract Society rec. of Rev. Gottl. Byhan  
for 61 subscribers to Amer. Messenger 7.62 1/2"

January 1846 Sundry Drs. to Bookstore

"Gottl. Byhan Lisko Alt. Testament Band [vol.] 1 4.06 1/4  
"1 copy Miss. Intellig. & 1 postage 14 cts."

April 1846 Sundry Dbts. to Bookstore

"G. Byhan to Zinzendorfs Leben [life] 1.00"

December 1846 Cash Dr. to Sundries

"Amer. Tract Society recd. for tracts of books sold  
"1.50 & from Gottl. Byhan for subscription for 65 copies Amer. Messenger for 1847 \$8.12  
1/2"

November 1847

"American Tract Society....of Gottl. Byhan subscription for 68 copies Amer. Messenger for  
1848 (Dec. 16) 8.50"

March 1849 Sundry Drs. to Bookstore

"Gottl. Byhan....Synodal Verlap/1848 65c  
"Missions Blatt [report] Jahr 11 & 12 (1847 & 1848) 80c."  
December 1849

"Gottl. Byhan....Mission Intellig. 1 yr. \$1 postage 14c."

February 1850 Sundry Drs. to Salem Tract Society

"G. Byhan to 1 yr. subscription to March 1/50 .50c"

## **Journal VI**

September 1851

"G. Byhan to Missions Blatt 1851 .40"

August 1852



"G. Byhan to Missions Blatt 1852 .40"

November and December 1861

"To New Negro Church recd. for sundries sold at public sale 10.38"<sup>112</sup>

November and December 1861

"New Negro Church Dr. to Lewis Belo

"For auctioneering at the sale of the Old Church & 1.00

"Calvin Peck Dr. to Sundries

"To Salem Town Lots for Lot No. 248 140.00

"To New Negro Church for the purchase  
of the Old Negro Church sold at public auction Dec. 4/61 210.00"

Sundry Drs. to Calvin Peck

"Salem Savings Institute for a transfer of a Certificate in favor of  
Augustus Fogle dated Oct. 5 1861 200.00

"a transfer of A certificate in favor of Calvin Peck  
date March 20/1861 75.00"

"Interest for amount of Interest due on  
A. Fogler certif. to Dec. 16th, due on C. Peck's 1.94  
certificate 2.71  
4.65

November & December 1862 Cash Dr. to Sundries

"To Calvin Peck recd. on acct. 5.97

"To Eliz. Peck recd. on acct. 1.43"

## **The Building Of 1861 Brick Church**

### **Journal VI**

January and February 1861

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<sup>112</sup>I have no proof of this but suspect that these "sundries" were from the 1823 log church. Unfortunately, a check of Salem's People's Press and Salisbury's Carolina Watchman turned up no advertisement for this auction. Some issues were damaged or missing.



"new Negro Church rec. subscriptions from sundries fr. Br. Holland 37.00"

April 1861

"To New Negro Church rec. from Br. F.R. Holland a contribution from Salem Female Miss. Society 150.00"

April 1861

"J. Gottl. Seitz, Superintendent of the erection of a New Negro Church at Salem pd. him on acct. towards defraying expenses of building said Church."

Apr. 6th 100.00"

May, June, July 1861

"New Negro Church rec. fr. F.R. Holland and from subscribers \$106 & \$50 \$156"

August, September 1861

"New Negro Church rec. contribution from F. Fries	200.00
Wa Sustent. [Wachovia Sustenation]	250.00
Sundries fr. F.R. Holland	66.00
" "	99.00
" "	46.00
Theo. Keehlin an order an W. Ackerman	25.00
Adam Butner "	10.00
	696.00

September 1861

"To new Negro Church for a contribtion on the part of the Diacony towards the erection of said Church 500.00"

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October and November 1861

"To New Negro Church recd. a contribution from Wachovia Sustentation 250.00  
"recd. fr. F.R. Holland contributions from Sundries 187.00 437.00"

November, December 1861

"To New Negro Church recd. for sundries sold at public sale 10.38"



"fr. F.R. Holland contribution from regular subscribers \$17 & contribution from coloured people in aid of expenses for new benches \$76 93.00"

#### November, December 1861 Sundry Debtors to New Negro Church

"John Siewers for 195 ft. in. plank @ \$1.36 pr. b. [per bill]	2.65
"Lewis Belo for 207 ft. pine lumber @ \$1.23	2.54
"James Fisher for a balance due on 294 ft. plank @	
to c. pr. 100 ft.	\$2.05
pr. 2.00	.05
"Sandford Synder [cq] for scraps of plank	.45
"Female Acad. for 166 ft. 1 1/4 in. board @ 1.35	2.24
for 154 ft. 1 1/4 in. boards a. x 1.75 pr. 100	2.69
for 168 ft. 1 1/4 boards a. x 1.70 (Fr. G. Seitz)	2.85
	13.47

#### November, December 1861

"To Salem Town Lots for Lot No. 248 140.00  
 "To New Negro Church for the purchase of the old Negro Church sold at public auction  
 Dec. 4/61 210.00  
 To Wood acct. for sundry trees cut (see Daybook Dec.4/61<sup>113</sup>) 3.30."

#### January 1862

"New Negro Church rec. fr. F.R. Holland contribution from subscribers	51.
"a donation from an unknown friend/a member of Salem Cong.	100.
"fr. Sr. Sue Bagge additionally	100.
"from coloured people towards expenses for new benches	9.
"fr. E.A. Schweinitz a donation from Female Missionary Society	64.
	324"

#### January 1862

"New Negro Church Dr. to J.G. Seitz (Superdr.)	
For Cash pd. Ch. Hauser for brickwork	1104.62 1/2
" " " Alf. Brower for 28000 shingles	119.00
Israel Nissen for oak lumber	115.00
G. Foltz for hauling lumber	88.00
Pfohl Brs. for rod iron	13.31
C.J. Miller for work & a load of lime	150.37 1/2
Nat. Vogler for making iron bolts	5.00

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<sup>113</sup>This daybook apparently is not extant.



Wm. Hauser for sundry work	72.43 1/2
F. Fries for iron	.98
Jul. E. Micke for tinning the steeple	26.50
F.H. Flynt for rock lime	2.52
E.A. Vogler for glass, nails etc	53.55
J. Phil. Reich for tin at chimneys	3.00
Ed. Belo for paints, oil etc	82.30
Aug. Zevely for putty & paints	5.04
Boner & Crist for nails etc	35.71 1/2
W. Dettmar for a lock, work at lightning rod etc	13.32
J.W. Gentry for pine lumber	
\$186.15 & \$72.87	259.02
Carried Forward	2149.69

[continued on p. 536 of Journal]

For Cash pd. J.D. Siewers for hire of negro Bill	51.00
J.P. Nissen for lumber for fence & she.	11.71
C. Cooper for painting	65.00
Haywood Brown for 12 d. work	18.00
Geo. Whitefield for 3d. work	2.25
J. Gamble for 2 d. work	1.50
___Coffer for hauling a load plank	2.00
E.A. Vogler for lightning rod paint	1.25
Elisha Shulz for hauling plank	10.00
Clemmons's Isaac for a hasp for the wood shed	.20
Geo. Swink for carpenters work \$150 \$175 \$53.43	378.45
G. Hege for work pr. hands	14.22
Mrs. Vierling for scouring the house	.50
Lewis Hein for whitewashing	3.00
His own bill for 130 d. work at \$1.50	195.00
for wood for dry kiln 10.00	
for 144 ft. poplar weather boards 1.66	206.66
	2916.18

February & March 1862

"New Negro Church pd. Lyd. Heisler for an iron stove & pipe	12.50"
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## Journal VII

April 1, 1862-April 30, 1873 [This journal was only examined through the end of 1864.]

April 1862

"To New Negro Church recd. fr. E.A. Schweinitz  
a contribution from Salem Female Missionary Society  
ie. the amount of collection in spring 41.75"

May, June, July, August 1862

"To New Negro Church rec. a contribution  
from C.L. Banner 15.00"

"pd. G. Foltz for hauling scaffold poles  
from Negro Church for furnace at Church 2.12  
hauling sand & scaffold poles for repairs of the Church 1.25"

5 January 1862 "The cost of the [new church] building, as is not uncommon in such cases, notwithstanding the care taken to avoid it, has exceeded the means in hand,—so there is a debt of about \$200 remaining on it. It is extremely desirable that this debt; & I believe that your society shares this desire to a degree which will constrain you kindly to come to our assistance." (Letter from F.R. Holland to Female Mission Society)

From Jan. 5 to July 13, 1862 "By Cash, pd. to Negro Church 105.72" (Treasurer's Report, Female Mission Society)

March 1864

"To New Negro Church recd. for broken glass 15.00"



## Inventory of Items in Log Church

*From June 26, 1825, entry in Congregation Diary:*

"Inventory of items belonging to the Negro mission

1) In the cupboard there are Communion dishes and a little basket.

2) Shrouds for adults and children

3) Some hymnals belonging to Sister Steiner

4) Baptismal dishes

5) In the small table drawer in the *Saal*, there are 2 baptismal cloths.

6) Grave digging tools in the little room: 1) Spade, pick-axe, and shovel together with ropes for lowering.  
I.R. Schmidt"

*Items known to belong to the congregation from various primary sources. Year given in parenthesis indicates either year purchased or year it was mentioned in entry:*

benches (1823)

table (1823)

chair (1823)

white cloth (1823)

3 lamps (1825)

Primers (1827)

"Book" (1829)

mattock (1834)

lovefeast vessels (1835)

Bible Testament (1843)

"Sacred Songs" book (1844)

*American Messenger* subscriptions (1845-47)

Old Testament, vol. 1 (1846)

Zinzendorf's *Leben* (1846)

communion table (1847)

melodeon (1856)

minister's desk (1856)

new chair for desk (1856)

hymn book (1858)



## Inventory of Items at Hope's Gemein Haus

*From "Inventory of all the household goods, moveables, books, & belongings to the congregation house at Hope in the month of December 1819" in the Moravian Archives. It is included because the inventory is fairly complete and offers a good view of what a small, relatively poor congregation possessed at the time the African-American church was built.*

### 1. For the use of the holy communion, Baptism, lovefeasts & Burials.

- 1 white glass bottle with glass stopper
- 1 fine white glass with handle
- 1 little basket for the Sacrament bread with a linen cover
- 1 little tin box for the Sacrament bread
- 1 surplice
- 1 dish for christening children & 1 to pour with
- 1 cloth for spreading on the table in the meeting hall
- 1 green bottle for Sacrament wine
- 2 large earthen pots for the use of lovefeasts
- 4 large earthen tea pot
- a number of lovefeast cups of 2 sorts
- 2 baskets for the cakes (old)
- 1 sugar box (tin)
- 1 small tea cannister
- 4 boards to carry the lovefeast cups upon
- 1 coffee roaster
- 1 Coffee mill
- 1 brass kettle (large)
- 1 earthen washing dish
- 1 pitcher
- 3 old towels large & 1 small
- 1 bier for grown persons
- Ropes for coffins to be let down
- 1 shovel
- 1 spade
- 1 mattock
- 1 crowbar to dig graves

### 4. Books

- The Greenland History II Vol. an old and a new church book
- a book for the minutes of the Committee
- a book for the contributions



1 hymn book  
1 large bible (quarto)  
Liturgie hymns  
the acts of the days of the son of man  
the history of the Indian mission  
Exposition of christian doctrines  
deposited by the Society for propagating the gospel –  
Summary of the doctrines of Jesus Christ  
a variety of manuscripts  
*Practische Bemerkungen die Führung des evangelischen Predigt—amtes betreffend*  
[Practical Notes Concerning the Guidance of the Evangelical Sermon]

in the hall

1 walnut table with a desk & dressing—on a stand—or step  
long benches & 2 short  
4 window curtain  
1 box at the door & in the closet for receiving money  
6 wooden candlesticks on the wall

*The inventory also includes the kitchen, dwelling room, cellar, and “the appartment in the loft.” No lamps are mentioned—only candlesticks and snuffers.*



## Property Owners of Lots 203, 204

*When the Moravian church auctioned off the log structure in December 1861, it sold one parcel of land known as lot 248. In 1922, the lot was informally divided into two parts when a second house was built; in 1941, this division became legalized. The new lot numbers were 204 and 203.*

### Lot 204 (southern half)

<i>Buyer</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Price</i>
1) City of Winston-Salem	1950	\$10,000
2) Virginia Montgomery	1941	\$100 and other valuable considerations
3) Lillie and W.A. Myers	1915	\$3,650
4) J.E. Powell <sup>114</sup>	1911	\$7,600
5) S.A. Kestler	1907	\$2,000
6) W.R. & Elda S. Thomas	1904	\$300
7) Sarah M. Fisher	1886	\$490
8) William Swicegood	1869?	?? <sup>115</sup>
9) Calvin Peck	1861	\$350

### Lot 203 (northern half)<sup>116</sup>

1) City of Winston-Salem	1950	\$100 and other valuable considerations
2) Howard Jordan	1947	\$100 and other valuable considerations
3) Clifford Bair	1944	\$100 and other valuable considerations
4) Ansel Fowler	1943	\$100 and other valuable considerations
5) Ellis Ashburn	1942	\$100 and other valuable considerations
6) Lillie M. Myers <sup>117</sup>	1915	(see No. 3 under lot 204)

*Source: Deeds from Register of Deeds Office*

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<sup>114</sup>Powell paid \$7,600 for the lot and house but received only \$3,650 four years later. This drop is hard to explain.

<sup>115</sup>No deed has been found for when Swicegood bought the property or when the Pecks sold it; it is possible there was another owner between Swicegood and Peck.

<sup>116</sup>In 1923, new addresses appear for the first time in the city directory: 923 and 921 Church Street.

<sup>117</sup>Lillie Myers and Lillie Scott are the same person; she remarried in the 1930s.













Bridgeport National  
Bindery, Inc.

**JAN. 2010**

